Class 283.051Q P736 Book
General Theological Seminary Library
CHELSEA SQUARE, NEW YORK

Purchased from the fund bequeathed to the Seminary by
EUGENE AUGUSTUS HOFFMAN, D. D.
DEAN 1879-1902

ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

(Uniform in size and price with this Volume.)

ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY.

From the Death of King Henry VII. to the Death of Archbishop Parker, 1509–1575.

ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY.

From the Death of Archbishop Parker to the Death of King Charles I., 1575–1649.

'In two Volumes of English Church History Lectures, 1509–1575 and 1575–1649, Dr. Alfred Plummer, late Master of University College, Durham, shows how skilfully a learned man, who is also a teacher of experience, can gather, and invest with something of a new freshness, the conclusions of original authorities and modern investigators. Dr. Plummer has read very widely, and he has the art of seizing the salient points and making them emphatic by a sharpness of phrase, or an aptness of quotation, which helps to fix them in the memory. There is no wonder that these lectures have been widely popular. They are eminently candid, judicious, and unprejudiced.'—W. H. HUTTON, B.D., Fellow and Tutor, St. John's College, Oxford (in the *Journal of Theological Studies.*)

EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

From the Death of Charles I. to the Death of William III.

FOUR LECTURES

BY THE

REV. ALFRED PLUMMER, M.A., D.D.
FORMERLY FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD
AND MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DURHAM

Quin etiam infelix virtus et noxia felix,
et male consultis pretium est, prudentia fallit,
nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes,
sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur.
MANIL. iv. 94–7.

EDINBURGH
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET
1907

283.051Q
P736

43619

Printed by

MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED,

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, AND CO. LIMITED.

NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

UNION THEOL. SEMINARY
LIBRARY
NEW YORK

PREFACE.

THESE lectures, like the two volumes which have preceded them,[1] were written for popular audiences in connexion with the Exeter Diocesan Reading Society. They are not intended for experts, but were delivered, and are published, in the hope that they may induce a few English people to take more interest in the history of the English Church than they have hitherto done. The three little volumes take the reader, in a somewhat rapid, but (it is hoped) not unintelligible way, through the momentous period during which the Book of Common Prayer first took shape and reached almost exactly the form in which we possess it now, and during which the English Church passed through vicissitudes, of the critical nature of which the changes made in the Prayer-Book are only a faint reflexion. In all three volumes the aim has been to select, from the overwhelming abundance of facts, just

[1] *English Church History from the Death of Henry VII. to the Death of Archbishop Parker.* Four Lectures by the Rev. A. Plummer. T. & T. Clark, 1905. 3s. net.

[2] *English Church History from the Death of Archbishop Parker to the Death of Charles I.* Four Lectures by the Rev. A. Plummer. T. & T. Clark, 1904. 3s. net.

a few of the most important, and to give to the selected facts enough colour and clothing to leave a definite impression upon the hearer's or reader's mind. It has been very gratifying to the writer of these lectures to learn from competent critics that they have been regarded as impartial and fair. They have certainly been written with a strong desire to do justice to both sides independently of the writer's own sympathies. Very possibly this ideal has not always been reached; but, if only the effort to attain to it is manifest, the reader will be able to sympathize with that effort, whatever he may think of the actual results. It is not likely that many readers will agree with quite all that is said about those who were making history during this highly controversial period.

Although original authorities have been much used, these lectures, like their predecessors, are mainly based upon the best modern works which have come within the lecturer's knowledge, and in some places are derived directly from such works. Yet he has endeavoured to form his own conclusions, and to put forth only what he has made his own by reflexion and conviction.

The following are the principal modern works that have been used in preparing the lectures:

Airy, O., *Charles II.*
Bogue and Bennett, *History of Dissenters.*
Burrows, Montagu, *Commentaries on the History of England.*
Burghclere, Lady, *George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham.*
Cambridge Modern History.

CARLYLE, T., *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches.*
Church Quarterly Review.
COLVILLE, A., *Duchess Sarah.*
Dictionary of National Biography.
Encyclopædia Britannica.
FREEMAN, E. A., *Growth of the English Constitution.*
GARDINER, S. R., *Cromwell.*
Cromwell's Place in History.
The Puritan Revolution (Epochs of Modern History).
GARDINER and BULLINGER, *Introduction to the Study of English History.*
GASQUET, F. A., *The Adventures of King James II.*
GEE and HARDY, *Documents illustrative of English Church History.*
GREEN, J. R., *History of the English People.*
GUIZOT, F. P. G., *Causes of the Success of the English Revolution.*
HALLAM, H., *Constitutional History of England.*
Introduction to the Literature of Europe.
HORE, A. H., *The Church in England from William III. to Victoria.*
HUNT, J., *Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century.*
HUTTON, W. H., *The English Church from the Accession of Charles I. to the Death of Anne.*
LATHBURY, T., *History of the Nonjurors.*
LECKY, W. E. H., *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i.
LINGARD, J., *History of England*, vols. viii. to x.
MACAULAY, T., *History of England*, vol. i.
Essays.
MACOWER, F., *Constitutional History of England.*
MARSDEN, J. B., *History of the Later Puritans.*
MORLEY, J., *Oliver Cromwell.*
MOZLEY, J. B., *Essay on Cromwell.*
OVERTON, J. H., *Life in the English Church, 1660–1714.*

OXENHAM, H. N., *Studies in Ecclesiastical History.*
PERRY, G. G., *History of the Church of England from the Death of Elizabeth.*
RANKE, L., *History of England,* vols. iii. and iv.
SCHAFF, P., *The Reformation.*
SHAW, W. A., *History of the English Church during the Civil Wars.*
SKEATS, H. S., *History of the Free Churches of England.*
SMITH, GOLDWIN, *The United Kingdom, a Political History.*
Three English Statesmen.
STEPHEN, LESLIE, *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century.*
STEPHEN, SIR J., *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.*
TASWELL-LANGMEAD, T. P., *English Constitutional History.*
TAUNTON, E. L., *History of the Jesuits in England.*
TOULMIN, JOSHUA, *Historical View of the State of Dissenters in England.*
TREVELYAN, G., *England under the Stuarts.*

For those who like to take their ideas of history from novels, there is a very large supply dealing with the period between Charles I. and Anne. Only a small portion of them can be mentioned here. Defoe's *Life of Colonel Jack* and *History of the Plague*; Scott's *Peveril of the Peak* and *Woodstock*; Ainsworth's *Talbot Harland, Old St. Paul's, Beatrice Tyddesley,* and *James II.*; Mrs. Marshall's *Memoirs of Troublous Times, Winchester Meads, By the North Sea, and Kensington Palace in the Days of Mary II.*; Miss Yonge's *The Danvers Papers* and *The Last of the Cavaliers*; Miss Everett Green's *After Worcester* and *In Taunton Town*; Miss Christabel Coleridge's *Lady Betty*; Miss Sarah Tytler's *Duchess Frances*; Miss Braddon's *London Pride*; Blackmore's *Lorna Doone*; Leigh Hunt's *Sir Ralph Esher*; Anthony Hope's

Simon Dale; Austin Clare's *The Carved Cartoon*; Conan Doyle's *Micah Clarke*; Stanley Weyman's *Shrewsbury*; Max Pemberton's *A Puritan's Wife*.

The lectures in this volume were delivered at various centres of the Church Reading Society in the Diocese of Exeter during the autumn of 1905 and the spring of 1906. They were also delivered to a large gathering of clergy at the Palace, Gloucester, in May 1906. By the invitation of the Professors of Theology, the first and second lectures were delivered in June 1906 in the Divinity School of Trinity College, Dublin. The first, second, and fourth were delivered to clergy of the diocese of Wakefield in October 1906 at Huddersfield.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

BIDEFORD,
26th January 1907.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
I. THE TRIUMPH AND FAILURE OF PURITANISM .	1
II. RESTORATION AND RETALIATION . . .	39
III. THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION .	79
IV. THE LATITUDINARIAN FAILURE AND SUCCESS .	123
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	167
APPENDIX	177
INDEX	183

I.

1649–1660.

THE TRIUMPH AND FAILURE OF PURITANISM.

"Great revolutions happen in this ant's nest of ours. One emmet of illustrious character and great abilities pushes out another: parties are formed, they range themselves in formidable opposition, they threaten each other's ruin, they cross over and are mingled together, and, like the coruscations of the northern aurora, amuse the spectator, at the same time that by some they are supposed to be forerunners of a general dissolution.

"There are political earthquakes as well as natural ones, the former less shocking to the eye, but not always less fatal in their influence than the latter. The image which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream was made up of heterogeneous and incompatible materials, and accordingly broken. Whatever is so formed must expect a like catastrophe."

WILLIAM COWPER, Letter to Joseph Hill, 1783.

I.

1649–1660.

THE TRIUMPH AND FAILURE OF PURITANISM.

It has been remarked that the two most sensible things to be said about the trial and execution of Charles I. are (1) that it was an act of war, just as defensible or as questionable as the war itself; (2) that the regicides treated Charles precisely as Charles meant to treat them. Throughout, it had been "My head or thy head," and Charles had lost.[1] But, while we admit the lawfulness of war, we do not admit the lawfulness of putting prisoners-of-war to death. Charles was a prisoner-of-war, and that, not by capture on the field of battle, but by self-surrender. Civilized nations do not put such prisoners to death. And, if the first plea is invalid, the second is untrue. It is not true that, from first to last the contest had been "My head or thy head." Until the Second Civil War in 1648 no one thought of taking the King's head; and at the time when it was resolved, in the event of victory, to put Charles

[1] J. Morley, *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 286.

to death, the King was already a prisoner. There are some ways of looking at the execution of Charles which are less sensible than others; but there is no way in which it can be regarded as other than a crime of great magnitude. And that for two reasons. First, the King had committed no offence for which the penalty of death was due. Secondly, there was no court competent to sentence him to death.[1]

But, what concerns us more with regard to the period immediately before us, is, that the execution of Charles was not only a great crime but a great blunder. It was a political error of the very first magnitude.

Cromwell had said, "We will cut off his head, *with the crown upon it*." But that was precisely what could not be done. Directly the head of Charles I. was off, the crown went to Charles II. So long as Charles I. was in safe custody, the King and his crown were in custody. But to put Charles to death was to release the King: *le roi est mort*,

[1] The way in which the execution of Charles I. was regarded by Royalists, and perhaps by many more, has been eloquently described by Dr. O. Airy: "It was murder, murder most foul and most unnatural. A band of wicked men had done to death more than their King, more than a good and gracious master, and a man of pure and pious life. In his person they had violated the sacredness of monarchy, the sacredness of the Church, the laws and liberties of England, everything for which his servants had sacrificed home, friends, children, and estates, and for which they had been at any moment willing to give their lives. This drumhead court-martial was not the act of the people of England; it was not an execution, or an incident of warfare; it was murder, which cried for vengeance" (*Charles II.*, pp. 58, 59).

vive le roi. The son, who was free, at once became dangerous. The thousands who valued monarchy, but detested the tyranny of Charles I., would never have moved a finger to help the Prince of Wales to set free his father. But they were not unwilling to help Charles II. to avenge his father; and, when they saw that there was no other way of getting rid of military despotism and restoring monarchy, they were very willing indeed to help the son to mount the throne of his father. Nor was this the whole of the blunder. The violent proceedings against Charles I. gave him an opportunity of putting himself right with his justly offended subjects. Not merely royalty, but the King himself, was thereby planted afresh and firmly in the affections of his people, and those who had abhorred and opposed his policy, at once began to cherish his memory. As Macaulay says, "No demagogue ever produced such an impression on the public mind as the captive King, who, retaining in that extremity all his regal dignity, and confronting death with dauntless courage, gave utterance to the feelings of his oppressed people, manfully refused to plead before a court unknown to the law, appealed from military violence to the principles of the Constitution, asked by what right the House of Commons had been purged of its most respectable members, and the House of Lords deprived of its legislative functions, and told his weeping hearers that he was defending not only his own cause, but theirs." [1]

[1] *History of England*, i. p. 128.

Those who committed this act of guilt and folly were Republicans, who professed to be acting in the name and for the interests of the nation. But the majority of the nation (including not a few Republicans) abhorred the deed; and this fact at once made a genuine democratic form of government impossible. You may get rid of despots, but you cannot establish freedom, by the sword.

We must pass on to consider the first, and, thus far, also the last, *English Republic*.

Of the eleven years which separate the death of Charles I. from the restoration of Charles II., less than half can be called, even in a limited sense, a Republic. During the first four years, and during the last year, some of the forms of a Republic were observed; and a shadow of republican formality was observed even during the Protectorate. But, in reality, the government, during what is called the Commonwealth, was a military Oligarchy, with a tendency to become closer and closer, and end, as it sometimes did end, in the rule of a single despot. It started, at the very outset, in a glaring inconsistency. It professed to be setting up free and popular government in place of the tyranny of an hereditary monarch; and yet it did not dare to appeal to the people whom it claimed to have freed. From the point of view of the Rump Parliament and the regicide army, a dissolution was impossible. There was a multitude of religious and political questions of the utmost importance still unsettled; and the peril of throwing all these before the electors, excited

and sickened as they were by recent civil convulsions, was enormous. It was risking all that had been fought for during the last seven years. This refusal to appeal to the country was natural, and perhaps necessary, but it was fatal to the establishment of a true Republic.

A Republic, which is the spontaneous outcome of a nation's own thoughts and desires, has a prospect of becoming permanent. It wins sympathy and respect from those who accept it, and it stimulates them to political and moral activities, which tend to give them unity, strength, and self-respect. But a Republic, which is forced upon a people that has neither thought about it nor desired it, which is out of harmony with national traditions and aspirations, which is introduced by violence and maintained by faction, is not likely to be very long-lived. It may be accepted for a time, either of necessity or as an experiment. But the longer it delays putting its professed principles to the test by a genuine appeal to the people, the more sure, and the more complete in the end, will be its downfall. And such a Republic does more than simply fail and pass away: it discredits in the eyes of a generation or two the very principles of popular government.

Perhaps it would not be untrue to say that the violent measures by which the Commonwealth was introduced placed an amount of power in the hands of Oliver Cromwell which was incompatible with the Commonwealth's growth. He was frequently hampered, and even thwarted, no doubt, by lesser

men, who dearly loved to play the part of "candid friend," or simply grudged to him the power which they could not wield themselves. But, when he was not being made to act as the "drudge" of the army, it would hardly be exaggeration to say that, in the main, Cromwell did what he pleased.[1] And what did it please him to do? What is there that he has established? No doubt his services to the nation then were numerous and substantial: some of them will have to be noticed presently. But what is there of his initiation that still survives? Not very much.

It is Cromwell's destructive work that has been permanent; his attempts at construction all failed: in some cases they did not last as long as himself. Cromwell's power was always in the sword; he was a great general, and a still greater commander in the field. But, where force was of no avail, Cromwell was impotent. The sword can destroy, but it cannot build up; and Cromwell's system of government, both in Church and State, quickly fell to pieces. But his destructive blows were permanently effective. He struck down the persecuting Church which had inflicted cruel penalties on conscientious dissenters.

[1] The expression, "drudge" of the army, is his own. In addressing the Hundred Officers touching the Kingship, 27th February 1657, the Protector said, that "they had made him their *drudge upon all occasions*." He mentions the dissolution of the Long Parliament, the nomination of a convention, the Parliament which followed it, its dissolution, the appointment of Major-Generals, and the Second Parliament, as among these occasions.

He struck down the tyrannical monarchy, which claimed by divine right to do as it pleased. He struck down the worthless Parliament, which set at defiance both the nation which had elected it and which it grossly misrepresented, and also the army by which it had been kept in power. And none of these things, in the noxious form in which he destroyed them, have ever been set up again.[1] As Guizot has remarked, Cromwell remains for ever "a striking example to the world of what a great man can do and what he cannot do. By sheer force of genius he made himself master of his country and of the revolution which he let loose upon his country; and he died, consuming his genius in an ineffectual effort to restore what he had destroyed—a Parliament and a King."[2]

But we must devote our attention chiefly to the work of Cromwell and the Commonwealth in reference to religion.

Episcopacy and the historic Church of England had been disestablished by the Long Parliament, when it made its bargain with the Scots, to induce them to help in overthrowing Charles I. Presby-

[1] S. R. Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History*, pp. 45, 46.

[2] *Causes of the Success of the English Revolution*, p. 72. Indeed, what Cromwell said of himself was not far from the truth; he was a constable set to keep the peace of the parish. He could maintain his rule against those who opposed it, but he could not obtain for it any sure basis, because he could not win for it the approval of the nation. "The fabric he had reared was overthrown without an effort, offering no resistance to the destroyer" (Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 203).

terianism had been adopted by Parliament in 1646; and, as an experiment to be tried for three years, it had received the very reluctant sanction of Charles himself. Now that Charles was gone, Presbyterianism was regarded as in permanent possession. Why did it not remain in permanent possession? Why, after such a signal triumph, was it, in less than fifteen years, compelled to retire from the field discredited and disliked? In the main there were three reasons. 1. It was an alien religion, out of harmony with the English character. 2. It was greedy of power, and in the attempt to make itself absolute overreached itself. 3. It vexed the spirits and shocked the consciences of the majority by its tyranny and intolerance. Each of these three points requires consideration.

1. Presbyterianism, *i.e.* Church government by a select body of presbyters or elders, with strict discipline enforced upon all members by means of assembly and classes, is a system of foreign origin. The originator was the Frenchman Calvin, and its headquarters were at Geneva, where he established it. Its rigid methods, attractive to the Scots, never became popular in the English nation, which has no liking for persistent drill, either in public worship or in private life.[1] Moreover, there was in England no enthusiast, like Knox, with the ability and energy to carry congregations along with him. But for the necessity of gaining the Scots, who would accept

[1] Shaw, *The English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth*, ii. p. 22.

no other terms than the adoption of the Covenant, the Long Parliament would never have forced Presbyterianism on the nation. And even the Long Parliament was powerless to enforce it everywhere. There were plenty of places, especially in the North of England, in which the hateful discipline of the courts of elders, inflicting fines and imprisonment for supposed spiritual offences, never got a foothold.

2. And the Presbyterians, where they did become dominant, as in London and many large towns and also in various rural parishes, were not content with being the ecclesiastical organization which was established by the State, protected by the State, and controlled by the State. They claimed absolute independence of all State control.[1] If their system and the Government should come into collision, it was the Government that must give way. "The want of Eldership," they said, "was the cause of all evil. No Commonwealth will flourish without it. This Discipline is not a small part of the Gospel; it is the substance of it. Without this Discipline there can be no true religion. This government is the sceptre whereby alone Christ Jesus ruleth among men. The establishing of the Presbyteries is the full placing of Christ in His Kingdom. They that reject this Discipline refuse to have Christ reign over them, and deny Him in effect to be their King or their Lord. It is the blade of a shaken sword in the hand of the Cherubins, to keep the way of the tree

[1] P. Schaff, *The Reformation*, p. 74.

of life."[1] The Papacy, with the prestige of many centuries behind it, hardly made greater demands upon the submission of mankind than did this brand-new system from Geneva.

3. But the English people might have been willing to tolerate this system a little longer, if it had shown anything like moderation in using the position of advantage which Parliament had given to it; or in exercising the discipline which was of the essence of the system. Before very long, persecution is sure to produce a revulsion of feeling in favour of the persecuted; and the way in which the thousands of ejected clergy, with their wives and children, were treated, steadily increased public sympathy for the sufferers. It is difficult to obtain anything like exact numbers; but John Walker, Rector of St. Mary Major, Exeter,[2] estimated that not less than 7000 clergy were ejected from benefices. In Exeter only one, a "complier," retained his living. In Cornwall 70 out of 160 were ejected; in Northamptonshire 100 out of 150. In Suffolk, he was told, scarcely one in ten was left. The ejected minister was sup-

[1] See the quotations in Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings.*

[2] 1698–1720. In 1714 he published his famous book, *An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, etc., who were Sequester'd, Harrass'd, etc., in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion.* He makes out a list of 3334, but thinks that the full number of suffering clergy might reach even 10,000. The work is that of a strong partizan, but he is careful in separating authentic evidence from dubious rumour.

posed to have one-fifth of the income to live on. But it was sometimes difficult to get the certificate which stated that you were entitled to this pittance; and, when you had got the certificate, it was still more difficult to get the fifth, or any portion of it, from the new incumbent.[1] Not unfrequently the new incumbent himself had difficulty in getting his stipend. But some 30,000 persons, chiefly women and children, were in this way in a state of destitution. One wife, who pleaded that she and her children were starving, was told that starvation was "as near a way to heaven as any other." Apparently, until 1654, the wife had to apply for the money; so that unmarried ministers, or widowers, could get nothing. Some of these "delinquent" or "malignant" clergy were shut up in prisons or in vessels in the Thames, and not a few died in consequence of their treatment.[2]

And the offence of "delinquency" was nowhere defined; therefore it was difficult to prove innocence of it. But the use of the Book of Common Prayer in public or in private, or holding service on Christmas Day, was quite sufficient. To have supported

[1] A case is quoted in which an ejected minister got thirty different orders for "fifths," and yet obtained nothing. At first the Committee seems to have granted any proportion of the income; but in July 1643 the Commons made a fifth the maximum allowance.

[2] Dr. Sterne, who attended Laud on the scaffold, was one of those who suffered in this way. Still worse was the fate of those who were sent to the plantations or to Algiers, to be treated, if they survived, as slaves.

Charles I., or to have spoken against the Commonwealth, was also enough. Or the ejectors would fall back upon vague charges of licentiousness of life, or being a "scandalous minister." And it is interesting to know that even portions of Scripture could be "malignant." "O God, the heathen have come into Thine inheritance: Thy holy temple have they defiled, and made Jerusalem a heap of stones," was a very malignant text, and to preach from it, or any portion of Ps. lxxix., was enough to make a minister "delinquent." And, of course, any recognition of Episcopacy was "malignant"; also charging parents to get their children confirmed, or preferring an episcopally ordained minister to one who was not so ordained.[1]

But it must be carefully remembered that it was not only the Presbyterians who were guilty of this intolerant and persecuting policy. The Independents, who in many things were so bitterly opposed to the Presbyterians, were, as regards religious persecution, just as intolerant as the Presbyterians of those who were attached either to the English Church or to royalty. And persecution was all the more reprehensible in their case, because the Independents had fought as the champions of religious liberty. A Presbyterian on principle was intolerant: his system,

[1] Nevertheless, here and there an Anglican minister escaped ejection, and kept up the Anglican services. Bunyan says that in 1649–1653 he attended a church with "Priest, Clerk, Vestment, and what else." This must refer to an Anglican service. Christopher Hall, Vicar of Elstow, was appointed by Laud, and held the living till 1664. See below.

he maintained, was the only one allowed by Scripture. But the Independents maintained as a principle that each Christian congregation ought to be free to choose its own minister and determine its own ritual. He who contends for religious freedom, and yet persecutes those who differ from him, is one of the most distressing of contradictions.

Nor were English Churchmen and Royalists the only classes who suffered from this intolerance of Presbyterians and Independents. Romanists, Ranters, Quakers, and other sectaries were similarly treated. The Quakers were often most cruelly handled. And even the most liberal of the Independents seem to have regarded it almost as an axiom that, of course, those who could uphold either popery or prelacy had no claim to toleration. All this ruthless treatment of inoffensive people, whose only crime was that of wishing to worship God in their own way, steadily alienated the feelings of large masses of the nation from the system which sanctioned such injustice, just as surely as the burnings under Mary and Philip had alienated them a hundred years earlier.

What may be said in explanation, and to some extent in excuse, of the misguided persecutors, and in particular of the Independents, is this. In them the fervour of religious conviction and revolt against ecclesiastical domination had settled down into an arrogant aggressive fanaticism, delighting in outbursts of enthusiasm, which they regarded as outpourings of the Spirit, but which resulted in exhibi-

tions of intellectual and spiritual pride.[1] They alone knew the meaning of Scripture, and they alone were God's saints. The civil war had turned these sturdy sectarians into equally sturdy soldiers, strong in religious discipline as in military drill. Having come, as a rule, from the lower orders, they found pleasure in domineering over others who had started higher in the social scale than themselves. They were convinced that in the prosecution of the war they had been chosen vessels for the carrying out of God's will, and especially for the executing of His judgments upon the ungodly. Now that the Lord of Hosts had given them the victory, it was their business to see that the people of God were never again either oppressed by godless cavaliers, or seduced by false ministers. Thus both their democratic and their religious enthusiasm led them to have but scant consideration for those who in political or in religious convictions differed from themselves.

About the treatment of the Romanists under the Commonwealth there does not seem to be a great deal of information. A Jesuit priest named Thomas Harrison was executed at Lancaster in 1650; and another, named Peter Wright, at Tyburn, 19th May

[1] See Guizot, *Causes of the Success of the English Revolution*, p. 24. Not only was unction preferred to sober learning, but education was sometimes regarded as a disadvantage and an impediment. South in one of his sermons says, "All learning was then cried down; so that none were thought fit for the ministry but tradesmen and mechanics, because none else were allowed to have the Spirit."

1651. Wright had lived abroad from 1633 to 1643, when he was sent back to England as a mission priest. In February 1651 he was arrested in London, tried for high treason under the 27th of Elizabeth, and hanged. In 1652 we hear of a Jesuit priest named Cuthbert Clifton endeavouring to convert "the martyr Earl of Derby" on his way to execution in October 1651.[1] The Earl had fought under Charles II. at Worcester, and had escorted the defeated King to Boscobel after the rout. Even after Cromwell became Protector these miserable executions for religious profession did not cease; and the last person who was put to death in England for being a Roman priest was executed by order of Oliver Cromwell. In 1654, Colonel Charles Worsley, who had commanded the troops with which Cromwell expelled the Rump Parliament (20th April 1653), arrested an aged Roman Catholic priest named Southworth, who had been sent into banishment at Lancaster thirty-seven years before. The old man admitted that he had taken Orders in the Church of Rome, but said that he was guiltless of any treason. Apparently he was advised to withdraw his admission; but he refused to deny that he was in Roman Orders. He was sentenced to death; and the French and Spanish Ambassadors were unable to induce the Protector to remit the sentence. Lingard is probably right in saying that, although Cromwell was not in favour of such executions, yet "he had no objection to purchase the good-will of the godly by shedding the

[1] Taunton, *History of the Jesuits in England*, pp. 428–430.

blood of a priest." [1] A little later Colonel Worsley became one of the most rigorous of the major-generals, October 1655. He died the following June, and had a magnificent funeral in Westminster Abbey. A Jesuit, named Edward Worsley, who may have been a relation, for they were both Lancashire men, was working in London in that very year.

Cromwell's treatment of Southworth leads us to consider a little more fully his attitude respecting religious toleration; and, if you pick your evidence, you can make the Protector to be either a detestable persecutor or an apostle of freedom. Some of his utterances are all that a modern advocate of liberty could wish. As early as 1643 he wrote to Crawford, and rebuked him sharply for suspending a lieutenant-

[1] *History of England*, viii. p. 209. The very feeble and ineffectual opposition which Cromwell made to the horrible sentence pronounced and executed on the fanatic, and perhaps lunatic, James Naylor, is a similar case. On a constructive charge of blasphemy (no words were quoted), Naylor was condemned by Parliament, 17th December 1656, to be pilloried for two hours in New Palace yard on the 18th and then whipped to the Exchange. On the 20th he was to be pilloried for two hours at the Exchange, have his tongue pierced with a hot iron, and the letter B branded on his forehead. Then he was to be taken to Bristol, paraded on horseback with his face to the tail, and then whipped through the city. Naylor was so prostrate with the whipping from Cromwell's palace to the Exchange that the remainder of the sentence was deferred to the 27th. Cromwell was asked to interfere. He did nothing till the 25th, and then wrote to ask the Speaker for the reason of the House's procedure. The rest of the sentence was carried out in London on the 27th, and at Bristol 17th January 1657.

colonel on account of erroneous doctrine: "Sir, the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions. . . . Take heed of being sharp, or too easily sharpened by others, against those to whom you can object little, but that they square not with you in every opinion, concerning matters of religion." [1] He writes to Lenthall, the Speaker, 14th June 1645: "He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for." To the same, after the taking of Bristol, 14th September 1645: "And for brethren, in things of the mind we look for no compulsion, but that of light and reason." To the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland he wrote, 3rd August 1650: "By your hard and subtle words you have begotten prejudice in those who do too much in matters of conscience,—wherein every soul is to answer for itself to God. . . . Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the Word of God, all that *you* say? I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken." In dissolving the first Parliament of the Protectorate, 22nd January 1655, he said that in the Civil War they had fought for "liberty from the tyranny of the Bishops to all species of Protestants to worship God according to their own light and consciences. . . . And was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy

[1] Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, i. pp. 148, 176, 188; iii. pp. 82, 83.

than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed ? " In addressing the new Parliament, 17th September 1656, he states that, in the twenty months since the dissoluton, his practice has been to let all the nation see that quiet and peaceable people, who do not make religion a pretence for arms and blood, may enjoy liberty of conscience for themselves.[1]

All these professions are difficult to reconcile with some of his utterances in the opposite direction, and still more difficult to reconcile with his intolerant acts. But although there is manifest inconsistency, there is nothing that need cause astonishment. In the first place, it seems to be quite clear that, when Cromwell thought about, or spoke about, religious liberty and freedom of conscience, he always meant liberty for Puritans, and for Puritans only ; and perhaps for not quite all of them. The Church of Rome and the Church of England were always excluded : that was an axiom with him. And perhaps he hardly found room for the Kirk of Scotland. Again, in spite of his friendly intercourse with George Fox, the Quakers were also outside the limits. The people whom he was prepared to recognize as within the limits of the toleration for which he contended

[1] Cromwell often gets the credit of having restored the Jews to England and granted toleration to their worship. In *The Return of the Jews to England* (Macmillans, 1905), Mr. Henriques has given reasons for doubting whether Cromwell ventured to do more than wink at the settlement of a few Jewish families in the kingdom.

were the Independents, the English Presbyterians, the Baptists, and some minor Protestant sects. The Independents, Presbyterians, and Baptists shared the livings of the Church of England, and those who did not like the services which these ministers afforded might have services of their own, always provided that neither Mass-book, nor the Book of Common Prayer, was used. As Cromwell said, "I meddle not with any man's conscience. But, if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing and to let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, *that* will not be allowed of."

And in the Instrument of Government, by which Cromwell was appointed "the Lord Protector," 16th December 1653, we have the same spirit manifested in official language. In the 37th Article we have: "That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ (though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of faith and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts: *provided this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, hold forth and practise licentiousness.*" The exclusion of Romanists and Episcopalians from toleration was bad enough: but at any rate the exclusion is definite; it is quite clear who are not to be tolerated. But, under the

vague wording of the last clause, the persecution of any unpopular sect was made possible. Those who strongly disapproved of the sect's tenets or practices might say that they were "licentious," and must be put down by force. This was the view taken of the Quakers, for connexion with whom James Naylor suffered. On his case Mr. John Morley justly remarks: "So hideous a thing could Puritanism be; so little was there in many respects to choose between the spirit of Laud and the hard hearts of the people who cut off Laud's head" (*Oliver Cromwell*, p. 423).

But even this very limited toleration was deeply resented. It was a bitter thing to the Presbyterians that any Christians were tolerated, except themselves. On the other hand, those who were neither Presbyterians, nor Independents, nor Baptists, were indignant that the ministers of other religious bodies were appointed to livings while theirs were not. Thus, while the rigorists who were established hated Cromwell for allowing non-conformity, the non-conformists hated him for establishing the others. Add to these the Anglicans and Royalists, who hated him as the suppressor of Church services and the slayer of the King.

The nominated Assembly, commonly called "Barebone's Parliament" (4th July - 11th December 1653), marks the high-water line of Puritan supremacy. The Long Parliament had been dismissed for not being sufficiently drastic in its reform of grievances in Church and State. The nominated

Parliament was dismissed for being too drastic. Its proposal to abolish the Court of Chancery of course shocked the lawyers; but it does not concern us. Its proposals to abolish tithes and Church patronage, and to make marriage a civil contract before a Justice of the Peace, led the way to the dissolution of the Assembly. With the possible exception of the earlier attempt to prohibit the joyous celebration of Christmas Day, hardly anything seems to have been so deeply resented by the majority of the nation as the turning of the marriage ceremony from a religious service into a purely civil formality.[1]

Respecting Christmas Day there are some interesting entries in John Evelyn's Diary. In 1655 there was still one Church in London in which the use of the Prayer-Book was connived at, St. Gregory's, of which Dr. George Wilde, formerly chaplain to Charles I., was minister. He preached there 25th November, the last Church of England sermon allowed in a church under Cromwell's proclamation.[2] "So

[1] It is significant that Cromwell's own daughters, Mary, who married Lord Fauconberg, 19th November 1657, and Frances, who married Richard Rich, 11th November 1657, after the public ceremony, were privately married by episcopally ordained ministers with the service in the Prayer-Book. Cromwell in this pretended to yield to "the importunity and folly of his daughters." Dr. John Hewit, afterwards beheaded for conspiracy, performed the ceremony for Mary.

[2] But it must not be supposed that the services of the Church of England were extinguished at any time during this period. Usher preached close to Whitehall. Allstree, Dolben, and Fell are represented in a picture in the Hall of Christ Church, Oxford,

pathetic was his discourse," says Evelyn, "that it drew many tears from his auditory." On the last Sunday of that year Evelyn was again at St. Gregory's. He wrote in his Diary: "So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen in the Church of England since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of both papist and presbyter. The Lord Jesus pity our distressed Church, and bring back the captivity of Zion." After this, Dr. Wilde kept up the Church of England services regularly in a house in Fleet Street. Evelyn mentions receiving the Holy Sacrament "at Dr. Wilde's lodgings" on Christmas Day, 1656. The next Christmas Day Evelyn went to the chapel of Exeter House in the Strand, where Peter Gunning held Church of England services. "Sermon ended," writes Evelyn, "as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house,

as keeping up services. Jeremy Taylor and others ministered in private houses, Juxon at Chastleton House, Hammond at Westwood, Morton in the residence of Sir C. Yelverton. Some got lectureships, and were thus independent of the Presbyterian incumbents, and they said the Church prayers by heart. In the country, some Anglicans retained their livings, as Lewis Atterbury at Milton, Bull at Suddington, Stillingfleet at Sutton. Some went to the Continent and kept up the Anglican services there, as Cosin and Morley. And some of the ejected Bishops still held ordinations in private, as Brownrigg, Duppa, and Hall (Overton, *Life in the English Church*, 1660–1714). See also *History of St. John's College*, by Thomas Baker, ejected Fellow, ed. Mayor, ii. pp. 648–650.

others carried away. . . . In the afternoon came Colonel Whaly, Goffe, and others, from Whitehall, to examine us one by one; some they committed to the marshal, some to prison. . . . These were men of high flight, and above ordinances, and spoke spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the Sacrament the miscreants held their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffered us to finish the Office of Communion, as perhaps not having instruction what to do in case they found us in that action." At the Restoration, Dr. Wilde was made Bishop of Derry, and Mr. Gunning Bishop of Chichester and then of Ely.[1] As to the preaching of the Puritan ministers Evelyn says: "There was nothing practical preached, or that pressed reformation of life, but high and speculative points and strains that few understood."

But the fact that it was never supposed that toleration was to be extended to those who were not Puritans is not the only thing which helps to explain the glaring inconsistency between some of Cromwell's utterances and a great deal of his conduct. We must also take into account two other points: (1) that his mind was not always quite in the same position respecting this question of religious liberty; (2) that he had to work with people whose co-operation was indispensable to him, and who thought that

[1] Peter Gunning's own papers will illustrate the condition of things still further (*History of St. John's College*, by Thomas Baker, ejected Fellow, i. pp. 235, 236).

liberty of conscience was a heinous sin. One fanatic said that if the devil had his choice whether the hierarchy and liturgy should be established in the kingdom or toleration granted, the devil would choose toleration. Another said, that to let men serve God according to their own consciences was to cast out one devil that seven worse might enter.[1] Both of these utterances are remarkable. The first admits that to establish the Church of England again would be better than general toleration; which is, so far, a compliment to the Church of England. The second admits that intolerance is a devil; which is,

[1] Compare the pictures drawn from life, in Butler's *Hudibras*, of the intolerant Presbyterians, *e.g.*:

> "Bears naturally are beasts of prey,
> That live by rapine; so do they.
> What are their orders, constitutions,
> Church-censures, curses, absolutions,
> But several mystic chains they make
> To tie poor Christians to the stake?
> For to prohibit and dispense,
> To find out or to make offence;
> Of hell and heaven to dispose,
> To play with souls at fast and loose;
> To set what characters they please,
> And mulcts on sin or godliness;
> Reduce the church to gospel-order,
> By rapine, sacrilege, and murder;
> To make Presbytery supreme,
> And kings themselves submit to them;
> And force all people, though against
> Their consciences, to turn saints;
> Must prove a pretty thriving trade,
> When saints monopolists are made."
>
> Pt. I. Canto iii.

so far, a condemnation of persecution. But perhaps neither speaker meant this inference to be drawn from his words; he merely wished, in the strongest possible terms, to express his abhorrence of toleration.[1]

Cromwell's ideal seems to have been a Puritan State Church, fairly comprehensive in character, but from which all Episcopalians, and perhaps some of the wilder sectarians, were to be rigidly excluded. It was this fatal exclusion of all loyal members of the historic national Church that prevented his scheme from having any permanence, or indeed from being ever fully carried out.[2] The decisive step in this utterly wrong direction had been taken during the Civil War, and now there was no going back. Between 1643 and 1647 many hundreds of the Episcopal clergy had been expelled from their churches and parsonages with a harshness which in many cases was brutal. The same policy was continued under the Commonwealth; and after 1655 it was impossible for a dispossessed Episcopalian clergyman to earn money as a teacher or private chaplain, without risk of heavy penalties.[3] No wonder that when the day

[1] In 1703 the General Assembly of Scotland protested that to tolerate Episcopacy would be to establish iniquity by law.

[2] "Puritanism threw away its best chance in England, because all its parties—even the democrats—assumed as an axiom that no one who was not a Puritan was to share in the Government" (Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 316).

[3] On pain of three months' imprisonment for the first offence, six for the second, and banishment for the third. These persecuting edicts were absolutely illegal. We do not know to what extent they were enforced; but the fact that they were enacted and could be enforced caused great distress.

of reckoning came there was cruel retaliation. In 1662 the Puritan scale had kicked the beam, and hundreds of Nonconformists were harshly ejected from their livings.

It is perhaps true to say that "Cromwell himself would have wished to tolerate the use of the Prayer-Book." He cared comparatively little for rigidity either in Church or State. He had no punctiliousness about doctrine or ordinances in the one case, or about constitutional forms and precedents in the other. "I am not a man scrupulous about words or names or such things." But whatever he may have wished, it is quite certain that he joined with those who prohibited the use of the Prayer-Book, even in private. And this again contributed to the overthrow of his experiments (they can hardly be called a system) in ecclesiastical and civil government. There were large numbers to whom the rhythmical cadences of the Book of Common Prayer were very dear;[1] and, to those who were hearty Royalists, its familiar phrases had become a symbol of political as well as religious faith: just as the long-winded rambling prayer of the Presbyterian or Independent

[1] Robert Sanderson, rector of Boothby Pagnell, used a modified prayer-book, still in existence in his handwriting, which he supplemented from memory out of the Book of Common Prayer. John Hacket, whose moderation had caused him to be allowed to retain the small living of Cheam, knew the Burial Service by heart, and on one occasion much edified some Puritans, who did not know till he told them that the beautiful prayers which had so affected them came out of the despised Book of Common Prayer. He became Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1661.

minister was a weekly memorial of that fanaticism which had murdered their King, and made them aliens in the country which they loved as dearly as any Presbyterian or Independent could do. "It was now that Oliver committed the mistake, which thousands of others in like circumstances have committed, of confounding the symbol with the cause. The use of the Common Prayer-Book was proscribed as thoroughly as the Mass." [1]

But, just as it was the non-religious element in the nation which saved the Church of England from being captured by the Puritans during the long reign of Elizabeth, so it was the non-religious element in the nation which had most to do with the overthrow of their religious tyranny, after the Church of England had been captured by the Puritans under the Commonwealth. Not that the religious elements in either case were quiescent; but their efforts sometimes neutralized one another, or were in other ways not sufficiently decisive.

In all nations this non-religious element is a large one; and, whenever its interest in a great question becomes roused, it can make itself felt. It is made

[1] S. R. Gardiner (*Oliver Cromwell*, p. 259). Nevertheless he thinks that "the system of the Protectorate was undoubtedly the most tolerant yet known in England—more tolerant, indeed, than public opinion would, if left to itself, have sanctioned" (*ibid.* p. 233). Bordeaux, the French Ambassador, wrote that, though the laws against Catholics had not been modified, yet the connivance shown to Catholics was such as to prove that they received better treatment under the Protector than under any previous Government (25th September 1656).

up of two kinds of persons, both very numerous: those who, without being irreligious, are indifferent to most of the questions which divide religious parties, and those who care nothing at all about any form of religion whatever. Under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell this large non-religious element had become very restive. It was fair-minded enough to see the injustice with which Royalists and Episcopalians had been treated. It was also well aware that the Government under which it lived was unconstitutional. Neither Cromwell, nor what he was pleased to call his Parliaments, represented, what had been fought for so enthusiastically in the Civil War, the sovereign will of the nation. The only thing that could do that was a Parliament freely elected by the nation. In May 1654 Milton had put forth, in the strong language of which he was such a master, his *Second Defence of the English People*, in which he belauded, not only Cromwell, but Bradshaw, Fairfax, and Overton. He implored the nation to allow itself to be governed by the good and the wise, which in plain language meant the army and Cromwell. That was Milton's ideal, the ideal of political Puritanism. But there were many Englishmen who thought that the nation ought to be governed by its own representatives. In short, the question to be decided was—were Englishmen to be governed in accordance with what was supposed to be for their good, or in accordance with the national will?

Nor was it only in religion, or in refusing to take

the verdict of a free and general election, that Cromwell receded from principles which he had professed in favour of liberty, and which he would possibly have followed more sincerely, if he had had an entirely free hand. Like the majority of the Independents, he had at one time wished for the liberty of the press. This the Long Parliament had steadily curtailed; and the Protector was pushed on and on along the same illiberal lines of policy. It was in October 1655 that the blow fell, and regulations similar to those of modern Russia were adopted. Only a couple of weekly newspapers were to be allowed, and those must be edited by an agent of the Government. "How are the mighty fallen!" would be the thought of the blind Milton, when he heard of his great leader trampling upon all that he himself had contended for in the *Areopagitica*. "What advantage is it to be a man, over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only escaped the ferula, to come under the fescue of an *Imprimatur*? If serious and elaborate writings, as if they were no more than the theme of a grammar-lad under his pedagogue, must not be uttered without the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licenser?" Paragraph after paragraph had he written in this strain; and this was the fruit of it all,—Cromwell himself establishing a censorship of the press!

But what exasperated the non-religious people more than anything else, either in religion or politics, was the manner in which the Protector and the Major-Generals maintained, with uncompromising

aggressiveness, all the rigorous gloominess of Puritan morality. It was not enough that severe laws were enacted against betting. Almost every kind of public amusement was proscribed. Ale-houses were closed, not merely lest factious men should congregate in them, but lest any people should enjoy themselves there. Wrestling matches and grinning through the horse-collar on village greens were put down. Every form of theatrical entertainment was forbidden; and an order went forth that all the Maypoles in the land were to be removed. Horse-racing was proscribed, and even a puppet show was regarded as immoral. We perhaps sympathize with these rigorists, when we find them putting down the highly popular diversion of bear-baiting. But the idea of preventing cruelty to animals was not the motive of the Puritans. As Macaulay says, "The Puritan hated bear-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. Indeed, he generally contrived to enjoy the double pleasure of tormenting both spectators and bear." [1] The army, which dictated and enforced these irritating laws, strictly observed them, and could afford to do so, for the men were handsomely paid. An Italian writer says that at that time an English private got better pay than an Italian captain.

All this restraint upon public conduct and family life, and all this suppression of innocent and time-honoured pleasures was made trebly galling to the

[1] *History of England*, i. p. 161. In his Essay on Milton, Macaulay pays a generous tribute to the nobler side of Puritanism.

nation by the character of the people who were the authors or abettors of it. The tyranny of Charles I. had in many respects been more serious, and had cut deeper into the national life. But the Government of Charles was at least a government of gentlemen; and the men who carried out his oppressive measures were to a large extent the nobility and gentry of England. It was very much otherwise with the Government of Cromwell. His first Parliament was composed for the most part of mean and illiterate persons. Many of his officers, both in the army and in civil posts, were people of inferior social position. That would not have been fatal, if those who were promoted had always been men of capacity or conspicuous honesty. But Cromwell was cursed with the adhesion of no small amount of blackguardism. The best men of his party were, indeed, honourable and Christian men, with high ideas of morality. They believed that they had received from the Almighty a special commission to do His work in England, and special grace with which to execute it. But along with these were some of the most despicable hypocrites of the time, who found it a very paying thing to imitate the phraseology and manners of the ruling party, and who went about canting as to "saving grace" and "the will of God," in order to cover the vilest iniquity. The genuine fervour of the devout Puritans was trying enough to non-Puritan and non-religious Englishmen; for it is somewhat irritating to be treated as a poor sinner by those who profess to be saints.

But the hypocritical sanctimoniousness of those who wished to curry favour with the saints was intolerable.[1] These men had the watchwords of the party most frequently on their lips; and, as it was known that their lives were evil, they discredited the whole Puritan Government. Thus the anti-Puritan flood, which was so soon to sweep away both Protector and Commonwealth, went on steadily rising, and overflowed all the barriers which separated religious and political parties from one another. It was no longer found solely or even chiefly among Royalists or Episcopalians, but manifested itself in society generally, and especially among those who cared little about differences of religion.[2] The strong hand of Cromwell kept the great flood-gates closed during his lifetime. Then, after two years of uncertainty under the incompetent guidance of an unwilling ruler, the waters poured forth, and the nation gave a frantic welcome to the merry monarch

[1] See the amusing sketch of "A Shee Precise Hypocrite" in Earle's *Microcosmographie*, No. 43: "Shee doubts of the Virgin Marie's Salvation, and dare not Saint her, but knowes her owne place in heaven as perfectly, as the Pew she has a key to. Shee is so taken up with Faith, Shee has no roome for Charitie, and understands no good Workes, but what are wrought on the Sampler. She over flowes so with the Bible, that she spils it upon every occasion."

[2] "In the reaction which accompanied the Restoration, Puritanism seemed hopelessly discredited and crushed. The populace hated it for its austerity, and the deepest feelings of the English nation were stung to madness at the memory of their slaughtered king" (Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, i. p. 8).

and his jovial court. The rule of Cromwell had taught the people of England two lessons, one of them wholesome, the other very much the reverse. It had taught them to dread the domination of a standing army,[1] and to hate the very name of religious zeal.

Cromwell seldom said a truer word than that "the safest test of any constitution is its acceptance by the people." It is by the application of that test that all his attempts at Constitution-making stand condemned. Not one of them was ever accepted by the people.

Cromwell's last year was one of chequered lights and shades. He stood high in Europe, and was supreme in Britain. But he had dangerous enemies, especially at home. He may have wished to govern constitutionally: but often he could not do so, without effacing himself; and this he would never do. Convinced that he was responsible to God alone, he cared less and less about having human law on his side.[2] For his arbitrary acts, both Royalists and Republicans tried to get him assassinated.

Four days before Cromwell's death a terrific storm

[1] "The profound horror of military despotism, which is one of the strongest and most salutary of English sentiments, has been, perhaps, the most valuable legacy of the Commonwealth" (*ibid.* p. 120).

[2] "The Protector professed to see the hand of God, a special intervention, when he succeeded. There is not a more perilous or immoral habit of mind than the sanctifying of success" (Lord Acton).

passed over England.[1] The storm afterwards became associated with Cromwell's death, and was interpreted, by his enemies as a sign that the Satanic powers were claiming their own, by his admirers as evidence that Nature itself was groaning in sympathy with the death of the greatest man in the world.[2] The two interpretations anticipate the two verdicts respecting him.

What are *we* to say of the Great Usurper? Shall we evade the question with a witticism, and say with Lowell, that, if he is not to be reckoned among English sovereigns, he may at least count among the half-crowns? Or, with Clarendon, who had joined with him against Strafford, that he was "a brave, bad man"? Or, with Ludlow, who had fought at his side, and with him had signed the death-warrant of the King, that he was an apostate, who, from the most selfish motives, had aimed at sovereignty throughout? Or, with the Anabaptists, that he was a "grand impostor," a "loathsome hypocrite," and a "sink of sin"? No; these are not true accounts of him. Rather, let us say with Baxter, who had been his chaplain, and had sometimes rebuked him

[1] During the storm, Dennis Bond, a leading Republican, died. The Royalists said that the devil took Bond for Cromwell's appearance.

[2]
"Toss'd in a furious hurricane,
Did Oliver give up his reign;
And was believed as well by saints,
As mortal men and miscreants,
To founder in the Stygian ferry,
Until he was retriev'd by Sterry."
Butler, *Hudibras*, Part III. ii.

to his face, that "he meant honestly in the main, and was pious and conscionable in the main course of his life." Baxter adds that "success corrupted him," and "then his general religious zeal gave way to ambition." But perhaps that also is not the exact truth. It was failure rather than success that corrupted him, by tempting him to resort to evil methods. Usurpers are not a class of rulers that the world esteems; but among all usurpers there are few more worthy of esteem than Cromwell.[1] There have been many worse Englishmen, and not so very many greater. But to make him quite a hero, and almost a saint,[2] is to follow him in forgetting the distinctions between right and wrong, without having his excuses for doing so. Two facts, one external and the other internal, have marred the completeness of a really great character. He had to work, either as the leader, or as "the drudge," of an exacting and fanatical army. And, with all his rugged simplicity,

[1] As Horace Walpole said of him: "If we must be ridden, there is some satisfaction when the man knows how to ride" (*Letter to the Earl of Hertford*, 5th October 1764).

[2] Peter Sterry, one of his chaplains, said of him after his death, "if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful for us on all occasions." Sterry, in praying for Richard, asked the Almighty to make him the brightness of his father's glory and the express image of his person, which Burnet condemned as "indecent words next to blasphemy' (*Own Times*, 1658). Compare Dryden's *Stanzas on Oliver Cromwell*:

> "Heaven in his portrait showed a workman's hand,
> And drew it perfect, yet without a shade."

he was somewhat of a fanatic himself. It was these two things, his dependence upon force and his fanatical self-will, which made it possible that he, the great Puritan, should be the chief cause of the Puritan failure.[1]

[1] These lectures were written before the writer had seen the excellent criticism in Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century*, i. pp. 119, 120.

II.

1660–1678.

RESTORATION AND RETALIATION.

"Who comes—with rapture greeted, and caressed
With frantic love—his kingdom to regain?
Him Virtue's Nurse, Adversity, in vain
Received, and fostered in her iron breast:
For all she taught of hardiest and of best,
Or would have taught, by discipline of pain
And long privation, now dissolves amain,
Or is remembered only to give zest
To wantonness.—Away Circean revels!
But for what gain? If England soon must sink
Into a gulf which all distinction levels—
That bigotry may swallow the good name,
And, with that draught, the life-blood: misery, shame,
By Poets loathed, from which Historians shrink!"

WORDSWORTH, *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, III. iii.

II.

1660–1678.

RESTORATION AND RETALIATION.

PURITANISM, as the dominant form of religion in England, died with Oliver Cromwell. His son Richard, although he succeeded to the Protectorate without a contest,[1] had not the strength of will to maintain Puritanism or anything else. He was an amiable, but forceless person; and, just as a statesman of our own day has been smiled at under the title of "the Grand old Woman," so Richard was good-humouredly bowed off the scene under the title of "Queen Dick." "Tumbledown Dick" was another nickname for him.[2] There was much shuffling of

[1] As Dryden remarks:

"No civil broils have since his death arose,
But faction now by habit does obey."

[2] Clarendon tells how the Prince of Conti, not knowing who he was, abused Richard to his face as a poltroon, and asked what had become of that fool? Richard replied that he had been betrayed by those whom he had most trusted, and had been most obliged to his father. He then took leave of the Prince, who two days later found out whom he had been talking to. Butler in *Hudibras* calls Richard "a lame vicegerent." Dryden calls him "the foolish Ishbosheth."

the cards, until General Monk began to play his hand. Without showing it to any one, and perhaps without knowing himself how he would play it, he marched from Scotland 2nd January 1660, and entered London 3rd February. The restored Rump Parliament was sitting, and for a day or two he allowed the members to believe that he was going to be their servant.[1] They were soon undeceived. On the 11th he sent them a peremptory letter, telling them to issue writs for a new Parliament, and to fix a day for their own dissolution. The news of this was received with acclamation by the people; "a free Parliament at last!" And the Rump Parliament was burned in effigy on many a bonfire.[2] It dissolved 16th March. The new Convention Parliament, to which the House of Lords returned as a matter of course, met 25th April. It carried out the first part of the Restoration, the re-establishment of the Constitution. The second part, the re-establishment of the Church of England, was carried out the next year by its successor. The Convention Parliament was by law "no true Parliament, because the King did not summon it; on the contrary, it summoned the King."[3]

[1] "All the world is at a loss to think what Monk will do: the City saying that he will be for them, and the Parliament saying he will be for them" (Pepys, *Diary*, 18th January).

[2] "At Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires. The butchers at the May Pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump" (11th February). "Heard how in many churches in London, and upon many signs there, and upon merchant's ships in the river, they had set up the king's arms" (21st April).

[3] Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 332.

It received from Charles the famous Declaration of Breda, 1st May. This was read amid outbursts of approval; and without either debate, or division, or laying down of conditions, it was accepted.[1] A week later, in a delirium of popular delight, Charles II. was proclaimed King in London. On the 10th he was proclaimed at Oxford, on the 12th at Durham. The Londoners were more than frantic with joy; one or two dropped down dead: and this limitless enthusiasm overflowed into the country. The whole nation was beside itself with rapture.[2] Coventry wrote to Ormond to hasten the King's coming, "to prevent the town's running mad; for, betwixt joy and expectation, the people hardly sleep." Charles landed at Dover 25th May. Monk welcomed him with humble devotion. The King kissed him, and called him his father. The Mayor of Dover presented a Bible, and Charles replied that "it was the thing that he loved above all things in the world."[3] The progress to London was a prolonged triumph. At Blackheath the army, which had held the country for so long against him, was drawn up to receive him. It was not enthusiastic, but it presented a loyal address, and Charles was much impressed by the sight of these famous troops,

[1] "At night more bonfires than ever, and ringing of bells, and drinking of the king's health upon their knees in the streets, which methinks is a little too much" (Pepys, 2nd May).

[2] "The world of England," says Anthony Wood, "was perfectly mad."

[3] Pepys, *Diary*, 25th May 1660.

still under discipline, although they knew that their reign was over. They might have given trouble; but it is to their credit that they were willing to part with a power which had been abused, and which had become detestable to the nation.

On his thirtieth birthday, 29th May, the restored King entered London, and the frenzy of joy reached a climax.[1] The Presbyterian preachers joined in the acclamations; and once more he was presented with a Bible. With the readiness of a Stuart he exclaimed, that the Bible should form the rule of his life. In the evening both Houses of Parliament welcomed him at Whitehall, and the constitution of King, Lords, and Commons was once more complete. In the very room from which his father had stepped to the scaffold the Speaker asked him to confirm Magna Carta and the Petition of Right.[2] He said that he was as ready to grant as the people were to ask: his whole wish was to make them as happy as he was himself. Charles II. had many failings; but niggardliness as regards fair speeches

[1] George Hickes (the Nonjuror) was an undergraduate at Oxford at the time of the Restoration. As Dean of Worcester he preached on 29th May 1684, and spoke of the popular welcome as almost as miraculous as the Restoration. People cried, as if by inspiration, Hosanna to the King! "Rebels and traitors, Papists and Church Robbers, united with loyal Churchmen to hail the return of the Lord's anointed." He called Charles the stone which the builders rejected, which has now become the head of the corner (Hunt, *Religious Thought in England*, ii. p. 74).

[2] The Speaker was Sir Harbottle Grimstone, a Presbyterian. He said that the sufferings of Charles placed him among the martyrs of Christ.

was—at any rate after the Restoration—seldom one of them.

> "Whate'er he did was done with so much ease:
> In him alone 'twas natural to please."

But what did it all mean? What is the explanation of these frantic expressions of joy for the return of a prince who was a stranger to nearly all of them, and about whose personal character they knew very little?[1] In spite of this, however, the enthusiastic welcome was to a considerable extent a personal one. They knew how Charles had been wronged, and how he had suffered in exile; and they were willing to estimate his goodness by the measure of what he had endured. Yet the nation's delight meant a great deal more than that justice was being done to an injured prince, whose character was sure to prove gracious. It meant that the nation's own sufferings were ended; that the liberty for which it had fought and conquered, and yet had never secured, had at last come without fighting; that the tyranny of the conquering army, which had proved worse than that of the conquered King, had been swept away; and that

[1] James Welwood remarks that "it looks as if Heaven took a more than ordinary Care of England, that we did not throw up our liberties all at once, upon the Restoration of that King; for tho' some were for bringing him back upon Terms, yet after he was once come, he possessed so entirely the Hearts of his People, that they thought nothing was too much for them to grant, or for him to receive" (*Memoirs*, 1699, p. 109). Less than two years before, Dryden had canonized Oliver Cromwell in his first important poem. He now glorifies Charles in *Astraea Redux* (1660), and the *Panegyric on the Coronation* (1661).

the long series of unconstitutional experiments, in governing a free people without a free Parliament, had at last come to an end.[1] Above all, it meant that the dismal reign of Puritanism was ended; and that it was now possible once more to have in their churches the services which they loved, and in their social gatherings the amusements which they loved, without fear of fine or imprisonment.[2] The attempt to force upon the people forms of religion which only a minority of them liked, and standards of morality which nearly all of them abominated, had broken down, as it always does, completely; and those who had groaned under its shortlived success were almost wild with delight at the completeness of the failure.[3]

[1] "It was the dislike felt to a mode of government which disguised violence and oppression under the cloak of freedom that led to the restoration of the old constitution" (Ranke, *History of England*, iii. p. 311).

[2] "They were freed," says Anthony Wood, "from the chaines of darkness and confusion which the presbyterians and phanaticks had brought upon them."

[3] "Over the fall of the Presbyterians," says Goldwin Smith, "considering the intolerance which they had shown, their blasphemy and heresy laws, and the general part which they had played, it is not easy to shed a tear" (*The United Kingdom*, ii. p. 16). It should be remembered that it was the Presbyterian Convention Parliament, not the Royalist Parliament which followed it, that ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride to be dug up, dragged to Tyburn, and buried there (where Connaught Square now stands), while their heads adorned Westminster Hall. Another storm accompanied this proceeding. Pepys tells how he "went to Charing Cross to see Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered. . . . Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at Whitehall, and to

And we know also how complete was the reaction. Puritanism had made cheerfulness a sin; and now nothing was sinful, so long as it was cheerful. In the luxury of defying Puritan notions of morality, morality itself was thrown to the winds. Barefaced vice was welcomed as evidence of the recovery of freedom. Society, from the court downwards, became shameless; and, with the scanty exception of sermons, almost all literature became indecent.

Puritanism had been stricken with panic months before the nation resolved to recall the King. There have not been many religious changes in England which, without help from the Government, have been more rapid. Almost suddenly, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, Puritanism found that it had lost its hold upon the people, and that it was being deserted. The Puritan leaders began to think far less of sovereignty than of a safe abdication. As the return of Charles became more and more certain, they looked to him for good terms. There was reason to hope that they would get them; for in Scotland Charles had swallowed the Solemn League and Covenant, and had taken much trouble to appear truly devout.[1] He would pray loudly in his room, when Presbyterian chaplains were within hearing; and he knew how to look solemn, and use the right phrases, when he went about. When he was abroad, he had

see the first blood shed in revenge for the King at Charing Cross" (13th October 1660).

[1] The fault was not all on his side. One of the Commissioners who negotiated the agreement owned that "we did sinfully en-

thought it worth while to play to the Puritans at home. He got the Protestant Princess of Turenne to write to her cousin in London and assure her of the young King's conversion. "I heard him speak," she said, "with such testimonies of piety that I was extremely edified. . . . I bless God because the marks of election are seen in him." And the letter in due course appeared in print. Drelincourt, a Protestant minister in Paris, wrote to a friend in London, that the young Prince was much commended for his piety. "If, without the intervention of any foreign power, your Presbyterians recall this prince and seat him on the throne, they acquire to themselves and to their posterity immortal glory." [1] Presbyterian clergy went over to Breda, not to impose conditions on Charles,—they had no such confidence,—but to see what terms he would grant to them. Among these were Calamy, Manton, Reynolds, and Spurstowe. Denzil Holles and some Puritan laymen went with them. Then came the Declaration of Breda, in which the King had stated: "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of

tangle the nation, ourselves, and that poor Prince, making him sign a covenant which we knew that he hated in his heart."

[1] These and other letters are printed in the *Phœnix*, a collection of rare papers, 1707. James Welwood says of Charles II. that "no age produced a greater Master in the Art of Dissimulation. . . . If he had any one fixed Maxim of Government, it was to play one party against another, to be thereby the more master of both: and no Prince understood better how to shift upon every Change of the Scene" (*Memoirs*, 1699, p. 131).

opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting of indulgence."

Charles was too good-natured and easy-going to be vindictive; and he cared too little about religion to persecute anybody for doctrine or ritual. The question with him would be, whether in the long run it would give him less trouble to resist those who wished him to be intolerant, or to reject those who asked for toleration. For the present, he was very willing to buy the support of the Presbyterians and other Puritans by being civil to them, and leading them on to expect very generous treatment. He was just as ready to gratify the Bishops by professing devotion to the Prayer-Book,[1] and dislike of Presbyterianism; the latter being genuine enough, for, like his grandfather, he had been sickened of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and he said that Presbyterianism was no religion for a gentleman. While he could delight both Anglicans and Puritans by expressing a royal horror of the pretensions of Rome.

And yet, so far as he was anything, Charles was at heart a Romanist. Not that he believed Roman doctrine, or any religious doctrine whatever.[2] But

[1] This was quickly restored. Evelyn says (8th July 1660): "From henceforth was the liturgy publicly used in our churches." Of course this means "*some* of our churches."

[2] "The truth is, King Charles was neither Bigot enough to any Religion, nor loved his Ease so little, as to embark in a Business that must at least have disturbed his Quiet, if not hazarded his

he knew that in this world Rome was the enemy of democracy, and, therefore, the friend of absolute kings; and he thought that, if religion was of any good for the next world, there was something to be said for a Church which professed to absolve the dying sinner and see him safe through purgatory. His sympathies were with continental monarchs, especially with such a King as Louis XIV., for whose methods he had the greatest admiration. The beliefs and politics of his own nation interested him far less; and experience had made him cynical about both. He had seen a great deal of religious and political parties; and he had had dealings with the worst men in each of them—men who were not only intriguing and grasping, but sordid also and faithless. From them he judged the rest; and he was convinced that every man could be bought, and every woman also.[1] Virtue only meant standing out for a higher bribe than was required to buy the others. Moreover, experience had taught him that a man who had sold himself to one side would sell himself again to the other, so that fidelity meant nothing more than serving one's own interests and filling

Crown" (Welwood, *Memoirs*, p. 113). The Scotch Presbyterians had sickened him of religion. Burnet says of that time that Charles "heard many prayers and sermons, some of a great length. I remember in one day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there myself, and not a little weary."

[1] Burnet wrote of him: "He has a very ill opinion both of men and of women, and so is infinitely distrustful; he thinks the world is governed wholly by interests, and indeed he has known so much of the baseness of mankind, that no wonder if he has hard thoughts of them."

one's own pockets. It was, perhaps, a good feature in Charles that he was neither soured nor saddened by these experiences, but only made cynical. Once more, he did not care enough to be saddened. He wanted the English throne, and he wanted a pleasant time upon it; and he valued the throne much more for the opportunities of pleasure which it afforded than for its own dignity and value. He had been restored to the throne because it was impossible to recover parliamentary government without him. But his restoration to it involved the restoration of Bishops to their sees and of ejected incumbents to their livings; and the latter was a matter of grave difficulty. How could this be done without grievous offence to the Presbyterians, to whose help the King's restoration was largely due, and to whom he had promised great consideration? They had hated Cromwell as much as he had done, and had submitted to the great Independent, only because they could not do otherwise. Resistance would have meant making way for an Independent minister in their place.

Charles was conciliatory. He made a number of the Presbyterian divines his chaplains in ordinary, and let them preach before him,[1] and have ready

[1] He wrote to his sister, the one person in the world for whom he had real affection: "We have the same disease of sermons that you complaine of there (Paris); but I hope you have the same convenience that the rest of the family has, of sleeping out most of the time, which is a great ease to those who are bound to heare them." In 1673 he told the preachers that they must not use a MS., but deliver their sermons from memory. This was, no doubt, in order to shorten the discourses. There is the well-

access to him. Among these were Calamy and Reynolds, Bates, Case, Manton, Spurstowe, and Wallace. Ashe and Newcomen declined the honour. Baxter, who was in a class by himself, at the King's express desire, accepted it. These men were moderate in what they asked for their party. They admitted that there was no false doctrine in the Prayer-Book, though they would like to have it revised; and they wished that the minister should be allowed to "make use of those gifts for prayer and edification which Christ has given him for the service and edification of the Church." Naturally, they desired that Presbyterians should not be turned out of their livings; and, for the present, it was conceded that, where the ejected Episcopalian incumbent was dead, his successor should not be disturbed, notwithstanding the irregularity of his appointment. But this concession gave great offence in some quarters. As regards episcopal government, nearly the whole Presbyterian party was willing to accept the modified form of it sketched by Archbishop Ussher; but the nine ejected Bishops who still survived stood out for the restoration of the old scheme in all its fulness.[1]

known story of South pausing in a sermon, to ask someone to wake the Earl of Lauderdale, as his snoring might waken the King.

[1] These were: Juxon of London, Wren of Ely, Pierce of Bath and Wells, Roberts of Bangor, Warner of Rochester, Skinner of Oxford, Duppa of Salisbury, King of Chichester, Frewen of Lichfield and Coventry. Of these, Juxon was translated to Canterbury, Frewen to York, and Duppa, who had been the King's tutor, to Winchester. Of these, Wren had been in the Tower since September 1642; and Pierce or Piers had narrowly

Baxter replied to them with much asperity, and thereby somewhat marred his own case. In a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, which was published 25th October, the King held to the principles of the Declaration of Breda, and was generous to the Presbyterians.

Bishoprics were offered to some of them: Norwich to Reynolds, Lichfield to Calamy, Hereford to Baxter. Deaneries were offered to others: Coventry to Bates, Rochester to Manton, and York to Bowles. Reynolds accepted at once. Calamy wished that they should all accept together, or decline together, but he hesitated about accepting. In the end, he and all the others declined. Perhaps they were afraid of what their friends might say of them. Bowles, on leaving London, said to Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, "My Lord, I have buried the good old cause, and I am now going to bury myself." He never conformed. In his last illness, August 1662, he was asked what he disliked in conformity. He replied, "The whole." Baxter, however, had admitted that to accept a bishopric involved no recognition of the old prelacy.

Before the King's Declaration of 25th October was issued, Hyde, now Lord Chancellor and Prime Minister, had presented a petition from the Independents and Anabaptists, asking for liberty of

escaped the same fate. "As to Ussher's *Model of Government*," they said, "we decline it as not consistent with his other learned discourses on the original of Episcopacy and of Metropolitans, nor with the King's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical.'

public worship, and it was proposed to add a clause to the Declaration offering freedom to *all* who met for worship, "so be it they do it not to the disturbance of the peace." This was disliked by both Episcopalians and Presbyterians, because it would give freedom, not only to the sectaries, but to Romanists. Baxter strongly opposed it; and the Declaration, to the King's regret, was published without the clause.

Charles proceeded to fill the vacant sees; and some of the selections for them were excellent, while all were intelligible. That Sanderson, Cosin, Sheldon, and Morley should all be promoted, namely, to Lincoln, Durham, London, and Worcester, was excellent; and it was quite intelligible that Gauden, of *Eikon Basilike* fame, and Walton of the Polyglott Bible, and Monk, brother of the General, should all be offered sees.[1] But there were excellent men who got nothing, or only some trifling preferment; and, if all the Presbyterians had accepted what had been offered to them, there would have been still more good men left out in the cold. As it was, the appointment of Reynolds to Norwich caused some bitter criticism. It was said that the King and his advisers had passed "an act of oblivion for their friends, and indemnity for their enemies."[2] No doubt there were many that were only too happy to be restored

[1] Boswell reports Johnson as remarking that licentious as Charles II. was, "he knew his people and reverenced merit. The Church was at no time better served than in his reign."

[2] Perry, *History of the Church of England*, ii. p. 308.

to their old homes, and to be able once more to use the services of the Prayer-Book publicly and without fear; but one wonders whether Izaac Walton does not idealize a little, when he speaks of tranquil happiness being everywhere prevalent. "A general joy and peace," he says in his *Life of Sanderson*, "seemed to breathe through the three nations; the suffering and sequestered clergy (who had long, like the children of Israel, sat lamenting their sad condition, and hanged their neglected harps on the willows that grow by the waters of Babylon) were, after many thoughtful days and restless nights, now freed from their sequestrations, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and pray to Almighty God publicly, in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them." Walton lived in a tranquil atmosphere with Bishop Morley at Farnham, and wrote his *Life of Sanderson* some seventeen years after the crisis of the Restoration; and there was probably a great deal on the other side of the shield which he had never known or had forgotten. There was the scramble for royal favour, the bitterness of those who did not get it even after frequent asking, the mutual recriminations, and the consequent vindictiveness.[1] Besides this, there was the patent fact that some of the restored clergy were now quite unfit to have the care of a parish. Necessity had driven them into callings of a very secular character. Or they had lived in

[1] "Le jour d'un nouveau règne est le jour des ingrats" (Gresset, *Edouard III.*).

squalor and lost all self-respect. Or, in their misery, they had tried to find comfort in drink. After they had come back to their livings, charges of drunkenness and disorderly life were quickly raised; and, although some of these may have been the malicious inventions of the ousted party, it is likely enough that some of them were true.

The *Savoy Conference*, which dragged on through several months (April to July) in 1661, was an unreal contest. Neither side meant to concede anything, and the issue was a foregone conclusion. The Episcopalians knew that they would get their way, and the Presbyterians that they must be defeated. Nevertheless, the Presbyterians wished to put forth a strong statement of their case. Perhaps they would have done better if they had not had so capable a debater as Baxter. He and Bates, with Jacomb, led on that side, Pearson, Gunning, Sparrow, and Morley on the other. Baxter throughout his career was too fond of being the candid friend of all parties. He was greater in criticism than in conciliation. As Orme says of him, his conduct did credit to his conscientiousness rather than to his wisdom. Refined distinctions influenced his judgment to the neglect of plain principles and facts. He would frame subtle schemes of union, and yet act in a way that would wreck any scheme.[1] He was gentle in spirit, and

[1] Burnet says: "He had a great confusion of things in his head, and could bring nothing into method: so he was a dark and perplexed preacher. Yet many of the ladies of high form loved

believed in toleration, and yet would contend strongly about trifles. His presence at the Conference was in itself almost fatal to its success; but both sides were to blame.[1]

There were eight points put forward for discussion, but agreement was reached upon none of them. In the end the Conference came to the lame conclusion, "that the Church's welfare, that unity and peace, and His Majesty's satisfaction, were ends upon which they were all agreed; but, as to the means, they could not come to any harmony."

Meanwhile the new Parliament, duly summoned by royal writs, had met 8th May. It effected the second part of the Restoration, the re-establishment of the Church of England. Strange that the Convention, which was mainly Presbyterian, should produce a Parliament which at once abolished Presbyterianism! The most urgent matter for it was the confirmation of the *Act of Indemnity*, which had been passed by the Convention Parliament the previous August. Till that was done, no one who had taken up arms against the Crown was safe. It proved to be a Royalist Long Parliament, for it continued to sit for eighteen years; and it was in some things as one-sided as the National Long

to hear him preach; which, the King used to say, was because they did not understand him."

[1] Hallam gives the chief blame to the Churchmen. No doubt they ought to have been generous to defeated opponents. But, on the other hand, they had for many years received outrageous provocation. See Baker's *History of St. John's College*, ed. Mayor, ii. p. 645.

Parliament. It is a remarkable thing that after the Restoration the Commons were less tolerant than the Lords. As Macaulay says, the Lower House was "more zealous for royalty than the King, and more zealous for episcopacy than the Bishops." The zeal for royalty abated, as experience of Charles increased and the memory of the Civil War became less vivid; moreover it was always kept within bounds by consideration of the rights of Parliament.[1] But the zeal for Episcopacy and the hatred of dissenters continued throughout the Parliament's long existence. In May they passed the *Corporation Act*, which required all corporate magistrates and office-holders to take "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England," to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, and to swear that it was unlawful, on any pretence whatever, to take up arms against the King. No Romanist or rigid Presbyterian was to be admitted to a municipal corporation or bench of magistrates.[2] Parliament also restored the Bishops to the House of Lords, and they appeared there once more 20th November. Pepys wrote in his Diary: "At their going out, how people did look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect." Charles was against this, for he foresaw that the

[1] Charles II. never ventured to imitate his father in trying to levy taxes without the sanction of Parliament.

[2] This was "on a basis of principles laid down by Hobbes, who denied the rights, and even the existence of conscience." The policy of Clarendon was "to suppress the Roundhead by suppressing the Presbyterian" (Lord Acton, *Lectures*, p. 209).

Bishops would be against any toleration of Romanists; but the Chancellor, now Earl of Clarendon, was strongly in favour of it; and in public the King expressed satisfaction. The Church of England, he said, was "the best fence God hath yet raised against popery in the world."

Side by side with Parliament, Convocation had been sitting. A few Presbyterians had been elected, but they were not summoned, and the Convocation was purely Anglican. It accepted some Presbyterian suggestions,[1] but it would make no concessions as to doctrine or ritual. Some six hundred changes were made in the Book of Common Prayer, most of them trifling, but those that were significant were not in the Puritan direction. Some were taken from the Scotch Service Book of 1637. Presbyterians declared that not until now had the Prayer-Book been positively distasteful to them.

The work of revision was done rapidly, for the Commons were anxious to pass a new *Act of Uniformity*; and it is marvellous that so excellent a revision should have been completed in a month.[2] But a large amount of material, previously prepared

[1] The admirable General Thanksgiving is by Reynolds. The Prayer for all conditions of men is in accordance with the Puritan idea that a prayer should contain many petitions. They disliked short collects, and that for the 6th Sunday after Epiphany, added in 1662, is a long one; so also the Collects for the Ember Weeks.

[2] From 21st November to 20th December, on which day the revised Book was signed by the clergy of both Houses and both provinces. But at the Savoy Conference Baxter had produced an entirely new liturgy in a fortnight!

by Overall and Andrewes, and more recently by Cosin, was ready for immediate use. Still, it did not quite please all the Bishops. Some would have liked the old book unaltered.

The King was in debt, and was anxious for a money vote; but the Commons were unwilling to lose this hold over him till the religious question was settled by a Uniformity Act. At last, in March 1662, the King addressed them on the subject. He had heard that they were very zealous for the Church, and he thanked them for it. But he was indeed unlucky, if, after being reproached with being a Papist abroad, he was now suspected of being a Presbyterian at home. He was as zealous for the Church of England as any of them could wish, and hoped that those who did not love it would come to a better mind. The Uniformity Bill sent up by the Commons was kept by the Lords till the new Prayer-Book appeared. Clarendon presented it 25th March, and proposed that the Act should refer to the new Book. A new clause was added by the Peers to the effect that no one could have cure of souls or ecclesiastical dignity in the Church of England, unless he had received Episcopal ordination, excepting only the foreign Protestant ministers in London or elsewhere. The clause was opposed, but passed; and Clarendon says that it caused very few incumbents to be ejected.[1] Some Bishops worked it with cruel severity, when they required ministers who came to

[1] Many of them had received episcopal ordination before swearing to the Solemn League and Covenant.

them for ordination to express a formal renunciation of their Presbyterian Orders.

Another clause required that all ministers should declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all things contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Baxter asked that it might be stated that "assent and consent" referred to the *use* of the Book, not to all its contents. The Lords were willing, but the Commons refused. The country members, many of whom had once been Puritans, had, under Cromwell, been driven by both religious and social exasperation to the side of Church and King; and now they had all the zeal of converts.[1] They supported Clarendon in granting everything to the Church, and restoring the full Episcopal system. And they went beyond him. "The Bill was no sooner read in the Commons," says Clarendon, "than every man according to his passion thought of adding something to it that might make it more grievous to somebody whom he did not love." They insisted that the Act should apply not only to clergy, but to schoolmasters and even private teachers. All must conform to the Prayer-Book, and must declare that to swear to the Solemn League and Covenant was an unlawful oath; and that to take

[1] Of course there were many others who had been Anglican at heart from the first. One way or another it was clear "that the Church of England was still enthroned in the affections of the English people,—the very type of their national character, the reflexion of their calm good sense, of their reverence for hoar authority, of their fastidious distaste for what is scenic and self-assuming" (Sir J. Stephen, *Essays in Eccles. Biog.* ii. p. 19).

up arms against the King upon any pretence whatever was unlawful.

The *Act of Uniformity* became the law of the land 19th May 1662. It swept Presbyterianism out of power in the Church, as the *Corporation Act* had swept it out of power in the State. All ministers who had not submitted to it by 24th August, St. Bartholomew's Day, were to be deposed, and their places filled as if they were dead. The Peers would have allowed a dispensing power to the King; but this the Commons would not tolerate.[1]

The Presbyterians were not only bitterly disappointed, for, after the Declaration of Breda and its successor, they had entertained hopes that the King might refuse to sign the Bill; they were dismayed and exasperated. They said that their fathers had fared better at Hampton Court. The Bishops in revising the Book had not made one important concession. In their Preface (by Sanderson) they had professed to "keep the mean between the two extremes," and to do that which "might most tend to the preservation of Peace and Unity in the Church," but they had abated nothing. On the contrary, they had increased the number of Lessons taken from the Apocrypha. The absurd story of Bel and the Dragon must now be read. It was cruel for the strong to exact the uttermost farthing.[2]

It was natural that they should complain, and

[1] Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 339.
[2] C. Beard, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1883, p. 323.

protest, and petition: but they were suffering for what their own party had done during the last fifteen years. The working of Century White's committees was still fresh in men's minds. The outrageous tyranny of the boards of "triers," the establishment of which, as Macaulay says, "was undoubtedly one of the most despotic acts ever done by any English ruler,"[1] had only recently ceased. By them Bishops, clergy, and gentry had been turned out and robbed. Was it unnatural—was it wholly unreasonable—that Parliament should take every care that these wrongdoers should not only be rendered powerless, but should be made to suffer for their wrongdoing? They had been cruel in depriving others of their rights.[2] Ought they to complain because these others were not gentle in recovering what was their own? "Let Mr. Baxter," says Bishop Bramhall, "sum up into one catalogue all the Nonconformists throughout the kingdom of England ever since the Reformation who have been cast aside or driven away; I dare abate him all the

[1] *History of England*, i. p. 158.

[2] "Whom neither chains nor transportation,
Proscription sale nor confiscation,
Nor all the desperate events
Of former try'd experiments,
Nor wounds could terrify, nor mangling,
To leave off loyalty and dangling,
Nor death with all his bones affright
From vent'ring to maintain the right;
From staking life and fortune down
'Gainst all together, for the crown."
Butler, *Hudibras*, Part III. ii.

rest of the kingdom, and only exhibit a list of those who in these late intestine wars have been haled away to prison, or chased into banishment by his party in three places alone,—in London and the two universities,—or left to the merciless world to beg their bread, for no other crime than loyalty, and because they stood affected to the ancient rites and ceremonies of the Church of England—and they shall double them for number." [1]

And yet, though all this was excusable, and perhaps more than excusable, was there not a more excellent way? As Bishop Warburton says: "It would be hard to say who are most to blame; those who oppose established authority for things indifferent, or that authority which rigidly insists upon them, and will abate nothing for the sake of tender misinformed consciences. I say it would be hard to solve it, had not the Apostle done it for us, where he says: We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves." But at the Restoration it seemed otherwise. When Dr. Allen said to Sheldon, who in 1663 became Archbishop of Canterbury: "'Tis a pity the door is so strait," the reply which he got was: "'Tis no

[1] Bramhall against Baxter, pp. 166, 167; written after the expulsion of the Nonconformists. The dissenting historian Toulmin writes: "The friend of religious liberty will not be disposed to weep over the fate of the presbyterian hierarchy. While it existed, it was only a substitute of one spiritual tyranny, of one system of coercion, for another. In the room of prelates arose presbyters or elders as lords over God's heritage" (*Historical View of the State of Dissenters in England*, p. 268).

pity at all: if we had thought so many of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter.[1]

The exact number of those who left their livings rather than conform is not known. Baxter says about 1800, Calamy 2000: both numbers may be exaggerations, although 2000 is commonly stated. Some of them had received episcopal ordination before the days of the Long Parliament: but most had sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant, and would not repudiate their oath; and all of them had scruples about the use of the Prayer-Book. So hundreds of farewell sermons were preached to hundreds of congregations, and the preachers went out into the wilderness.[2]

But let us admit that Parliament was doing no more than its duty, and no more than the nation required it to do, when it drew a hard and fast line round the Church of England, and insisted that those

[1] Neal, *History of the Puritans*, iv. p. 302. This severity drove conscientious men out, while others with easy consciences retained their livings, and yet did not conform. Dean Granville writes: "Of all Nonconformists, I confess I have most indignation against those that can accept of a fat benefice and preferment, and yet not conform" (*Remains*, Surtees' *Miscellanea*, Part ii. p. 41).

[2] Dissenting historians admit that, although the Nonconformist ministers before the Restoration had few superiors in ability, zeal, and learning, yet "the fruits of these men's ministry appear to have been comparatively small. When they were silenced, and men of a very different character were in most places appointed to succeed, the number of those who adhered to their old ministers was generally far from large" (Bogue and Bennett, *History of Dissenters*, i. pp. 95 ff.).

who could not keep within that line should be regarded as disloyal Englishmen. Still, there is another line which may be drawn between exclusion from privileges and active persecution, and this line Parliament and some of the Bishops proceeded to cross. Granted that the safety of the Constitution required that no one who refused to conform could be allowed to be a minister in the Church, or an official in the State, that did not prove that Nonconformists ought to be deprived of the ordinary liberties of citizens. The two remaining Acts of what is known as the *Clarendon Code* are clearly of the nature of active and spiteful persecution.

The *Corporation Act* of 1661 and the *Act of Uniformity* of 1662 have been already mentioned. In 1664, Charles proposed comprehension for Presbyterians and indulgence for Independents and Romanists. Instead of consenting, Parliament passed the *First Conventicle Act*. It forbade attendance at meetings for religious worship other than those of the Church of England, with imprisonment for the first and second transgression, and transportation for the third: and to return to England after transportation was a capital offence. In 1665, Charles proposed that Nonconformists should obtain toleration by making an annual payment. The reply of Parliament to this suggestion was the vexatious and pitiful *Five Mile Act*, which was directed specially against those ministers who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity. It enacted that no clergyman or schoolmaster should come

within five miles of any town in which he had acted as "parson, vicar, or lecturer," unless he would swear that he would not "at any time endeavour any alteration of Government either in Church or State," and declare that it is unlawful to bear arms against the King. The Act imposed no religious test, and therefore may be said to be an instance of political rather than religious persecution. But it was aimed at ministers of religion, and was intended to put down Puritanism.[1] It must have made it very difficult for Puritans to get religious instruction for themselves or their children.[2]

Nor did the impeachment and fall of Clarendon in 1667 make matters much better for the Nonconformists. The Cabal Ministry (1667–1673) reversed a great deal of his policy, but they did not cancel the Clarendon Code. In 1670 the *Second Conventicle Act* was passed by large majorities. The first was expiring, and the King wished it to expire. He still wanted indulgence for Romanists, and therefore indulgence all round ; but Parliament was as rigorous

[1] Bishop John Earle of Salisbury opposed the Act most strenuously, and died at Oxford very soon after the Parliament there had passed the measure.

[2] It is impossible to ascertain the number of Dissenters at this time. Stewart, a Norfolk M.P., stated in the House that conformity was increasing daily. "In Norwich are 20,000 persons, and not twenty Dissenters." Sherlock, in *Test Acts Vindicated*, states that in 1676 the Dissenters of all kinds in England, including Papists, were calculated as one to twenty. If this is near the truth, the Church could have well afforded to preach toleration. But conformity (often only partial) was one thing : loyalty to the Prayer-Book was quite another.

as ever, although in both Houses there were some who spoke for toleration. The Second Act made the penalties somewhat less severe, but it was more vexatious in its provisions, and made the position of Nonconformists still worse.

In March 1672, Charles once more tried his hand at toleration by publishing a *Declaration of Indulgence*. Protestant Dissenters were to be allowed to meet in public for worship, Romanists in private. The House of Commons at once requested the King to revoke the Declaration as unconstitutional. They told him that his claim "to suspend penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical" was *ultra vires*: "no such power was ever claimed or exercised by any of your Majesty's predecessors." Next year it passed the *Test Act*,[1] which was as clearly directed against Roman Catholics as the *Five Mile Act* had been against Protestant Dissenters. It enacted that in future "no one should be admitted to any office or public position unless he abjured the doctrine of Transubstantiation."[2] This "black charter of English Protestantism" was more political than religious. It is one of the ugly features in the "No Popery" agitations which have so often troubled

[1] Overton says that the *Test Act* "originated in the panic which arose from the marriage of the Duke of York with a Romanist" (*Life in the English Church*, 1660–1714, p. 170). But Lord Peterborough did not go to Modena to treat for the hand of Mary Beatrice till late in July 1673, and the marriage took place 30th September. The *Test Act* passed in March 1673.

[2] This doctrine was crucial: no Pope could grant a dispensation to Romanists to take such a test.

and disgraced English politics.[1] The King professed to regard it as ridiculous : he would keep his Roman Catholic barber, in spite of all their Bills. Few people knew that he was already bound by secret treaty with Louis XIV. to put down Protestantism in England with the help of a French army. But people did know that the Duke of York, who commanded the fleet, was a Romanist, and that there were plenty of Romanists about the Court. The Act drove both the Duke of York and Clifford from office, as it was intended to do, and thus shattered the Cabal. Whether Clifford was a Romanist, is unknown. Evelyn, who knew him well, did not know ; and we cannot find out. He died, possibly by his own hand, the following September. Charles never again played a card for Romanism in English politics. But the anti-Roman feeling, which he had provoked, did not die down because he ceased to provoke it. It had to be glutted with many victims before it was allayed even for a time.

In June 1673, Sir Thomas Osborne became High Treasurer and Prime Minister, and soon afterwards

[1] It is remarkable that all the Dissenters in the Commons voted for the *Test Act*, although it told against them as well as against Romanists ; for it required all who took office to receive the Sacrament in a parish church before formally renouncing Transubstantiation. The Dissenters said, "Never mind us at present. Papists must be kept out at any cost." It is also remarkable that the clergy not only did not protest against, but defended, this dreadful profanation of the Sacrament. Swift writes to Stella of Bolingbroke's going "to receive the Sacrament. Several rakes did the same. It was not for piety, but employment."

Earl of Danby. Though "corrupt himself and a corrupter of others," he had some principles, and among them a rooted objection to all trifling with Romanism, and also to all indulgence to Dissent. The *Test Act* had to some extent united Anglicans and Dissenters against Romanists. Danby kept the Clarendon Code in full working order, and tried to add to it a Bill which would have excluded from both Houses of Parliament all but Anglicans and Royalists. In this he failed. But his promotion of the strenuous opponent of popery, Compton, from the see of Oxford to that of London (December 1675) showed his decided anti-Roman bias. It was in 1675 that a Bill of Indulgence to all Protestant Dissenters was again introduced by Buckingham without success.[1]

Sheldon, who had been Archbishop of Canterbury since the death of Juxon in 1663, died 9th November 1677. One of his first acts as Primate had been an arrangement with Clarendon that the clergy should no longer tax themselves in Convocation, and thus, perhaps, supply the King with money, which the Commons had refused. In consequence of this the clergy were henceforth able to vote for members of Parliament; a considerable constitutional change brought about without any direct legislation. Sheldon had been in favour of the enforcement of the laws against Nonconformists; but he is said to have been

[1] See his speech, *Proceedings of the House of Lords*, ed. 1742, i. p. 164, partly quoted by Lady Burghclere, *George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham*, p. 310.

kind to some who suffered under them. During the frightful Plague of London in 1665, Sheldon remained at Lambeth and endeavoured to alleviate suffering; and after the Great Fire he worked indefatigably for the rebuilding of St. Paul's. His death gave Danby an opportunity of exercising great influence over the Church of England. Passing over all the Bishops, he appointed William Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, to the Primacy; and it is said that he did so at the urgent request of James, Duke of York, who thought that Sancroft would restrain the anti-Roman policy of Compton, Bishop of London. If this is true, the Duke seriously misjudged his man. One of Sancroft's first acts as Archbishop was to call upon the Duke to abandon the Romish religion, and be reconciled to the Church of England. One of the few things that we can esteem in James is his steadfast adherence to the Church of Rome when it was so much to his interest to desert it; and the interview was without result, so far as the conversion of the Duke is concerned. But, before we go on to the momentous events which took place during the primacy of Archbishop Sancroft (1678–1690), it will be useful to look back a little and gather up some results.

The Restoration had come too fast for healthy development, and too triumphantly for sobriety and fairness. It had two dangerous enemies, one latent, the other only too conspicuous—the spirit of revolution and the spirit of reaction. The revolutionary spirit was not dead; and it long survived,

not only its overwhelming defeat, but the discovery that it was now powerless. It might here and there give a little trouble; but it had not the smallest chance of success. Yet the mere fact that it was known to be circulating in the veins of not a few Englishmen produced feverish restlessness in society, and was a constant anxiety to the Government. And the reactionary spirit, the common disease of victorious factions, served to intensify this spirit of revolution. Many of the strong measures taken by the triumphant Royalists were either necessary in order to redress grievous wrongs, or were a just retribution for gross violations of justice. Others, again, might seem to be only wise precautions against similar violations in the future. But reparation, when it begins to be simply vindictive, becomes not only a discredit, but a source of danger, to the cause which it is supposed to serve. The religious reaction under Charles II. cannot easily be acquitted of this grievous charge. It is impossible to maintain that it was nothing more than a just redress of the outrages which had been inflicted upon the Church of England and its clergy. It was vindictive retaliation. And so far as the King was concerned, and those who had helped him to draw up his first two Declarations, it was a breach of faith to the more moderate Presbyterians. They had expressed their willingness to accept a great deal that they did not like; and the King had expressed his willingness to grant them freedom of worship. Charles, no doubt, would have liked to keep his word, not merely to save

himself trouble and gain something for Romanists, but also out of genuine good nature and good sense. But he yielded to the pressure of ecclesiastical prejudice, and to the intolerance of the country squires in the House of Commons. An attempt was made to save the King's word in two ways. First, that he had promised "to consent to such an Act of Parliament as shall be offered for the full granting that indulgence." If Parliament would not offer any such Act, he could not consent to it. Secondly, at the Savoy Conference the Presbyterians were led on to demand a great deal more than they had proposed at Breda. And in the petition which they presented after the Conference they made use of language which was impolitic in its strenuousness. This made it easy to say: "It is quite impossible to satisfy these men; and it is also impossible to know what they mean. Sometimes they say that the things which they dislike are indifferent, and if they are required by lawful authority to adopt them they will regretfully comply; sometimes they declare that the adoption of these things would be sinful." It may be doubted whether either of these pleas did much towards convincing or soothing the Presbyterians. They could always say with truth: "We did more than any other body towards restoring the King. We deserved, and we were led to expect, consideration. And not one concession of real value has been made to us. On the contrary, we are persecuted." The truth was that the religious reaction was too strong for toleration, or even moderation, to

assert itself. It was the cause of most of the mistakes and crimes which were committed by the Government of Charles II.[1]

It is perhaps true to say, with Guizot, that the bulk of the nation kept itself above both these evil influences. Certainly, it was not seriously affected by what survived of the spirit of revolution. It is less certain that the spirit of religious reaction failed to move it strongly. But we may believe that, in the main, it retained its characteristic good sense. "It is from the reign of Charles II. that this good sense, which is the political intelligence of a free people, has presided over the destinies of England. The revolution, through which the English nation had just passed, had terminated in three great results. They were as yet confused and incomplete, but they were irrevocable.

"1. The King could never again separate himself from the Parliament. The cause of monarchy was gained, but that of absolute monarchy was lost for ever.

"2. The House of Commons was in effect the preponderant branch of the Parliament. The influence of the House of Commons over the affairs of the country was daily more obvious and decisive.

"3. These two political facts were accompanied by one of still higher importance—the complete and definite ascendency of Protestantism in England." [2]

[1] See Lady Newdigate-Newdegate, *Cavalier and Puritan in the Days of the Stuarts*, chap. vi.

[2] Guizot, *Causes of the Success of the English Revolution*, pp. 81 ff.

Romanists might join with Bossuet in pointing triumphantly to the dissensions among Protestants; and in England certainly there was plenty of dissension. But Anglicans, Presbyterians, Independents, and other sectaries were quite agreed about this: that, whether toleration was a good or a bad thing, one thing the nation would never again tolerate—submission to the discipline and dogmatism of Rome. The history of England would have been far more free from trouble and from baseness, if Charles II. and James II. could from the first have recognized this fact. But in those days of scheming and counter-scheming, of uncertain aims and shifty principles, it was very difficult for any prince or statesman to know what was possible either in religion or politics.[1]

Among the statesmen of that feverish time there were few more consistent or faithful than Clarendon.

In 1675, Ken visited Rome in company with young Izaak Walton, the only son of the *Compleat Angler*. It was the year of the Jubilee, and they saw a great deal at Rome, Venice, and elsewhere. He said on his return, that he was less than ever inclined to Romanism, and, if possible, still more convinced of the purity of the Protestant religion.

[1] "But to return to the Roman Catholics, how can we be secure from the practice of Jesuited Papists in that religion? For not two or three of that Order, as some of them would impose upon us, but almost the whole body of them are of opinion, that their infallible master has a right over kings, not only in spirituals but in temporals. Not to name Mariana, Bellarmine, Emanuel Sa, Molina, Santarel, Simancha, and at least twenty others of foreign countries; we can produce of our own nation, Campian, and Doleman or Parsons" (Dryden, Preface to *Religio Laici*).

He was a firm friend of the Constitution, and a devoted adherent of the English Church. He was well qualified to guide his unsteady master back to the old paths of legal and moral order, as he had understood them before the Civil War. But something more than that was needed. For years he had lived abroad, and the England to which he returned was very different from the England which he remembered. Forces with which he was familiar had died out; and forces of which he knew little or nothing were actively working. Being called at once to take the lead in a country in which he was so apparently at home, and so really a stranger, it is wonderful that he did not make even more mistakes than can be attributed to him. He failed to see that the new House of Commons could not be treated like those which preceded the Long Parliament. He tried to dam it back within the old limits, and he was himself swept away. After seven years of ascendency he was impeached and went into exile, hated by the Court for his contemptuous propriety, by the Commons for his obstructive conservatism, and by the Nonconformists for his religious intolerance.[1] The King treated him with

[1] Charles wrote himself to the Duke of Ormond, 15th September 1667: "My purpose was also to say something to you concerning my taking the Seals from the Chancellor; of which you must have heard all the passages, since he would not suffer it to be done so privately as I intended it; the truth is, *his behaviour and humour was grown so unsupportable to myself*, and to all the world else, that I could no longer endure it, and it was impossible for me to live with it and do those things

base ingratitude; but Charles was not the sovereign to stand by an unpopular Minister. On the contrary, he rejoiced that the unpopularity of Clarendon enabled him to get rid of a statesman who both by word and example rebuked his master's dissolute life.

It is one of the many things which disgrace Charles II. as a King, that at this political crisis he preferred Buckingham, whose drolleries would keep him in fits of laughter, especially when he mimicked the unpopular Minister, to the statesman whose ceaseless thought and labour had done so much to preserve the Crown for him during the troubles of the last seven years. He had forgotten the pathetic advice which his father, Charles I., had given him: "never to give way to the punishment of any, for their faithful service to the Crown, upon whatever pretence or for whatsoever cause." The dismissal of Clarendon is only too like the surrender of Strafford.[1]

with the Parliament that must be done, or the Government will be lost" (Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, ii. p. 39).

[1] On the fall of Clarendon, see Pepys, 1667, 16th and 31st August; 3rd and 10th and 11th September: and, on the evils with which Clarendon had to cope, see 9th and 19th August; 30th December. For the "inveterate selfishness and Oriental ingratitude" of Charles II., see Airy, *Charles II.* p. 163: "He had grown to beg with effrontery and to betray without shame."

III.

1678–1688.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

"Aufrichtige, vollständige Parität, als herrschende und im gesammten socialen Leben durchgreifende Gesinnung, ist so lange nicht möglich, als eine der Kirchen die anderen fortwährend bedroht und ihnen unablässig vorhält, wie die Heiden den alten Christen: *non licet esse vos*; euer Dasein schon ist ein Uebelstand; zu einer günstigeren Zeit wird man wieder an eurer Ausrottung arbeiten. So lange eine solche Auffassung in der einen Kirche noch fortlebt, werden auch die anderen ihre Waffenrüstung nicht ablegen, und wird man statt wahren Friedens nur einen Waffenstillstand haben."

DÖLLINGER, *Akademische Vorträge*, iii. 295.

III.

1678–1688.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

If it were our business to follow the *political* history of these ten or eleven years, some such title as "Plots, Terrors, and Tyrannies" would be appropriate. It is impossible to trace, however slightly, the fortunes of the English Church during this period without taking some account of political events; but they must not be allowed to become predominant. The progress that was made in debate and in literature towards the finding of true principles of religious liberty is of more importance to the student of English Ecclesiastical History than the intrigues of kings, courtiers, and mistresses, or the briberies and brutalities of statesmen.

The latter are of importance to us so far as they hinder or further the cause of freedom of conscience, and they cannot be altogether omitted. After a brief glance at the worst of the intrigues in this period of shameless conspiracies, we will take note

of the literary side of our subject, and then glance at the political.

The infamies, known, conjectured, and possible, connected with the *Popish Plot*, and the odious personality of Titus Oates, need not detain us. They are among the most shameful pages of English History; but the disgrace of them does not attach itself in any special way to the rulers of the English Church.[1] It will suffice to quote some remarks from the *Memoirs* of James Welwood, who wrote about twenty years later. He went abroad in 1679, returned with William III., and became physician to the King and Queen. He had, therefore, opportunities of obtaining good information. "That there was at that time a Popish Plot," he writes, "and that there always has been one since the Reformation, to support, if not restore the Romish Religion in England, scarce any body calls in question. How far the near prospects of a Popish successor ripened the hopes, and gave new vigour to the designs of that party, and what methods they were then upon, to bring those designs about, Coleman's Letters alone, without other concurring evidence, are more than sufficient to put the matter out of doubt. But what superstructures might have been afterwards built upon an unquestionable Foundation, and how far some of

[1] It must not be forgotten that not one of the victims of this Protestant Terror ever admitted the guilt imputed to him. At the moment of execution they still protested their innocence. As Dryden says in *Absalom and Achitophel*, the Plot was "with oaths affirmed, with dying vows denied" (Pt. i. l. 111). The whole description should be read.

the Witnesses of that Plot might come to darken Truth by subsequent Additions of their own, must be defer'd till the great Account, to be made before a higher Tribunal : And till then a great part of the Popish Plot, as it was then sworn to, will in all human probability lie among the darkest scenes of our English History." Welwood goes on to notice three results : (1) It woke up the nation from a lethargy of nineteen years' duration. (2) It confirmed the "unhappy Distinction of Whig and Tory, that has since occasioned so many Mischiefs." (3) It began the struggle between Charles II. and his people, which caused him to dissolve four Parliaments and then never summon any more.

The disclosure of a real plot, in which James, Duke of York, was one of the chief conspirators, led directly to the proposal of William Sacheverell and Lord Russell that he should be excluded from the succession ; and the passing of an Exclusion Bill became the leading policy of the Whig party. It is easy to be wise after the event ; but the catastrophe of 1688 showed that Sacheverell was wise *before* the event. No one can say how much misery and shame might have been avoided, if it had been clear from the first that a Roman Catholic Prince would never be allowed to come to the throne.

The last of the many innocent victims of the Popish Plot was Oliver Plunket, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh. The evidence against him was so contradictory that the first grand jury refused to find a Bill. Plunket was kept in Newgate till

3rd May 1681, when he was tried, and on quite ridiculous evidence convicted of treason. Lord Essex pointed out to the King that the evidence against Plunket could not be true. Charles replied that this ought to have been pointed out at the trial: he himself did not dare to pardon any one: "His blood be upon your head, not upon mine." And this was the odious attitude of Charles throughout the long crisis of the Popish Plot. He signed the death warrants of innocent men, rather than risk his popularity, and possibly his Crown, by letting the victims go free. In 1680, when Anglesey expressed surprise at the King's signing Stafford's death-warrant, Charles said, "And why, my Lord, did you give your vote against him?" The Archbishop was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, 1st July.

Let us turn from these horrors to the writings of a man who had rather a narrow escape of becoming a victim of the Popish Plot—Edward Stillingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester. It is said that, at the time of the Plot, evidence against him was taken by the committee of investigation; but he was very popular, and was protected by a voluntary guard from any attempt to entrap him. He had published his famous *Irenicum* in 1659, and again in 1662, suggesting compromise between the Church and Presbyterianism. He maintained that whatever binds Christians as a universal law must be clearly revealed as such. It is quite certain that God means the Church to be under a definite form of government:

He does not will anarchy. But it is not certain what the form of government in each case must be. That "is a mere matter of prudence, regulated by the word of God." Nevertheless, Stillingfleet was strongly against Nonconformity and Separation. The separation of National Churches from one another was not schism; but the separation of individuals from the Church of their own country was. Dissenters, by opposing the Church of England, were really supporting Romanists in their opposition. This was no new argument: Calvin and Beza had advised the Puritans not to separate from the Church of England: Cartwright had opposed the separation of Browne and Harrison. And it had considerable effect. Not a few Dissenters conformed rather than be supposed to be allies of Rome.

When Dean of St. Paul's, Stillingfleet preached a sermon before the Lord Mayor, 2nd May 1680, which made a sensation. In it he spoke of the Nonconformists as schismatics and troublers of the peace of the nation.[1] Baxter and Owen replied, and then Stillingfleet published *The Unreasonableness of Separation from the Church of England*, 1681, in which he gives the history of the movement, and shows that the early Puritans thought that separation was altogether unlawful. In the preface he expresses

[1] But he was generous to ejected Nonconformists; *e.g.* to R. Kennet, incumbent of East Hatly, Cheshire, whom he helped to set up a private school, with a Conformist to do the teaching.

his willingness to make considerable concessions, especially to the laity.

Between the *Irenicum* and *The Unreasonableness of Separation* the case of the Nonconformists had been well stated in 1667 by "A Lover of Sincerity," in *A Proposition made to King and Parliament for the Happiness and Safety of the Kingdom.* The Nonconformists, he pleaded, were inoffensive people, doing nothing worse than what Pliny urged against the first Christians—meeting together for preaching and prayer. Uniformity would not secure unity, for force will not change conviction. Nonconformists do not object to Bishops, organs, or the Prayer-Book. What they abhor is oaths, declarations, and subscriptions. They are afraid of perjuring themselves. Severe impositions defeat the object of the imposers, for they provoke opposition. There ought to be entire freedom of worship, meeting-houses being supervised where there was danger of disloyalty.

This book was attacked by Thomas Tomkins, chaplain to Archbishop Sheldon, in the *Inconveniences of Toleration.* The Nonconformists, he said, are *not* inoffensive: they can devour widows' houses as well as make long prayers. Toleration is condemned by Scripture. Pergamos was rebuked for tolerating the Nicolaitans. Like the Puritans under Elizabeth, the Nonconformists chose to trouble the Church just when there was great trouble in the State. This was in accordance with their seditious principles. It deserves to be remembered that Tomkins was assistant licenser of books, and that he was very near

refusing a licence to *Paradise Lost*. He thought some lines treasonable:

> "As when the Sun new risen
> Looks through the horizontal misty air," etc. etc.

He was afterwards Chancellor of Exeter.

A much more notable work on the side of toleration appeared in 1675, *The Naked Truth, or the True State of the Primitive Church*, by an Humble Moderator. This was by Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford. He told Parliament that their measures for enforcing conformity had visibly failed: compulsion must be abandoned. The Apostles' Creed had been sufficient for the primitive Church, and ought to suffice now.[1] Enforced subscription to articles of faith had always done harm. Scripture without formularies was able to make men wise unto salvation. In using the Fathers, we must remember that many of them had been philosophers, and had brought into the Gospel their "school terms and dearly beloved sciences." Christ promised that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church; but where are we told that they shall not prevail against General Councils? As to ceremonies, it is strange that any one should be zealous, either for or against them. In matters indifferent, children ought to obey without question. But rulers, like parents, ought not to provoke their children. To compel observance of mere ceremonies made people more violent against them, because

[1] In this he is following Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*, which appeared in 1647.

they suspected that more was intended than was apparent.

Andrew Marvell said that no one could read this treatise without wishing that he had written it himself. But it was vigorously attacked by the clergy, among others by Francis Turner, Master of St. John's, Cambridge, who did not know that it was by Bishop Croft. He pointed out that it is impossible to keep creeds within the language of Scripture. The words of Scripture raise questions, to discuss which we must use words which are not in Scripture. Doctrine cannot always be expressed in scriptural language. This Bishop Croft would have admitted. His point was, that no one ought to be required, under pains or penalties, to subscribe to what cannot be expressed in the words of Scripture.

Another person engaged in controversy was Daniel Whitby, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford (1664), and chaplain to Seth Ward, who had been intruded upon Trinity College as President from September 1659 to August 1660, and was afterwards Bishop of Exeter (1662), and then of Salisbury (1667–1689). Ward strenuously supported the *Conventicle Act* and the *Five Mile Act*, and was active against Dissenters. Nevertheless, he was in favour of making the Church of England more comprehensive by modifying the terms of subscription. His chaplain Whitby went great lengths in this direction. In 1682 he published *The Protestant Reconciler*, in which he contended that "the duty of not offending a weak brother is inconsistent with all human authority

of making laws concerning indifferent things." For instance, the efficacy of prayers or of sacraments is not affected by the wearing or not wearing of a surplice: therefore we ought not to offend weak brethren by making any rule on the subject. For this proposition Whitby's book had the distinction of being burned in the School's quadrangle, along with Hobbes' *Leviathan*, by the University marshal, by order of Convocation, 21st July 1683. Seth Ward induced Whitby to retract this proposition and a good deal more, and Whitby added a second part to *The Protestant Reconciler*, in which he urged Dissenters to conform.

These instances must suffice. The whole period teems with literature for and against comprehension and toleration, and it is impossible to determine how far public opinion was affected by what was written. We know that few Nonconformists were won over, and that many Dissenters were very bitter. We know also what was said and done in Parliament; but we cannot argue securely from this to the sentiments of the majority in the nation, for many members of Parliament were bribed. Again, we cannot argue securely from what was popular at one time to what was popular a year or two, or even a month or two, later; gusts of strong feeling were frequently passing through the people, sometimes in quite opposite directions; and at no time during this troubled period was public opinion unanimous.

On the same day that Hobbes' *Leviathan* and Whitby's *Protestant Reconciler* were publicly burned

at Oxford, Lord Russell, "the patriot," as he is sometimes called, was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields for complicity in the group of conspiracies which culminated in the Rye House Plot. The object of those who acted with Russell seems to have been to contend for the principle that the English Constitution allows the right of opposition to the Government, a right which no ecclesiastical censures could abolish. Acting upon this principle, they meant to agitate for a free Parliament, which should discuss national grievances, and provide for the succession to the Crown. We may acquit the leaders of sanctioning the Assassination Plot, though they may have had knowledge of it. It is less easy to believe that they had no intention of using force, or stirring up civil war. But, thanks to the panic created by the Popish Plot, it had become the custom of the courts to make the crime of high treason very indefinite, so that almost any conduct regarded as detrimental to the interests of the King or the Government could be treated as high treason. The Whigs had sanctioned this, and now their own great leader was to suffer under it. In vain he pleaded that he had "always been averse to all irregularities and innovations, and in favour of the maintenance of the Government upon its old rightful basis." He had been planning to overthrow the Government by summoning a Parliament of a different complexion. He expected to do this without fighting; but he was probably prepared to use force, if necessary. What he called lawful resistance, the Solicitor-General

told the jury amounted to a project of rebellion. He was found guilty, and sentenced to death. His tragic end, and the heroic conduct of his wife, have thrown a halo round his memory. But we must not forget that he took bribes from France, and that he sanctioned the Popish Plot.

Shaftesbury had fled to Holland, and had died miserably (21st January 1683) before that part of the various schemes which is known as the Rye House Plot was made. Before Russell was sentenced, Essex had committed suicide in the Tower. Sidney was beheaded 7th December. Thus the party of liberty and reform was left without leaders. The cause of political freedom and religious toleration was wrecked, partly through its own violence, partly through the folly and criminal scheming of its leaders.

In January 1679, Charles had dissolved the "Long" or "Pensioners" Parliament, in order to save Danby.

During the excitement caused by the Popish Plot the Whigs carried the elections in the interests of Protestantism. This Protestant majority lost its advantage by want of agreement as to how to deal with the Romanist Duke of York.[1] Some said, Exclude him from the succession. Others said, Let him succeed to the throne, but transfer his executive powers to Parliament. Others said, Let him succeed to the throne, but appoint a regent. The difference

[1] Lady Newdigate-Newdegate, *Cavalier and Puritan in the Days of the Stuarts*, pp. 60–70, 247–252.

between the first of these proposals and the other two was well put by Colonel Titus : " I hope we shall not be wise as the frogs to whom Jupiter gave a stork for a king. To trust expedients with such a king on the throne would be just as wise as if there were a lion in the lobby, and we should vote to let him in and chain him, instead of fastening the door to keep him out" (Debate on the Exclusion Bill, 7th January 1681).[1] To the sorrow of the nation, it was the policy of letting him in, and then trying to chain him, that was adopted.

But this third Parliament did one good piece of work in passing the *Habeas Corpus Act*. The reign of Charles II. is the reign of comedy, and this famous Act was passed owing to a ridiculous joke. In the Lords, the tellers, for fun, counted the *corpus* of one fat peer as ten, and in handing in the result of the division omitted to correct the figures, so the Bill passed by a small majority ! The Commons then passed an Exclusion Bill ; and a few weeks later Charles dissolved Parliament.[2]

The fourth Parliament was again decidedly Whig. By repeated prorogations Charles kept it from sitting

[1] James Bramston preserves this witticism in his *Art of Politicks* :

> " I hear a lion in the lobby roar :
> Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door
> And keep him there ; or shall we let him in,
> To try if we can turn him out again ? "

[2] The Exclusion Bill was needlessly offensive. There was no need to name the Duke of York : it would have sufficed to make the *Test Act* apply to the Crown.

for a whole year, October 1679 to October 1680. The Exclusion Bill was passed in the Commons and thrown out in the Lords in November. A Comprehension Bill, to free Dissenters from all oaths, even that of Allegiance, provided they would sign the *Test Act*, was being prepared, when in January Charles again dissolved.

A new Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford, 21st March. Oxford was chosen in order to have a Royalist and English Church atmosphere, rather than that of London, which was Parliamentary and Latitudinarian, if not Republican and Dissenting. The journey to Oxford was made under menacing conditions. The King had troops placed at various points on the way, and his guards were sent to Oxford itself. In a like spirit, the Whig Lords took an armed escort, while the members of the Lower House went in groups of three or four dozen, supported by constituents wearing "No Popery" ribands. The under-graduates, however, cheered "Charles the Great," and lit bonfires in his honour.[1]

The King made a proposal, which must have cost him a good deal. He said that he could not change the succession by excluding his brother; but he was

[1] "The youths were all on fire, and when love and joy are mixed, cannot but follow rudeness and boysterousness. Their hats did continually fly, and seriouslie had you been there, you would have thought that they would have thrown away their very heads and leggs." As to the bonfires, "at some were tables of refection erected by our bonny youths, who, being e'ne mad with joy, forced all that passed by to carouse on their knees a health to their beloved Charles" (Anthony Wood).

willing to allay the anxiety about having a Roman Catholic king. Let William or Mary of Orange be appointed regent in his name.[1] The Court party were not at all pleased at this: they were for no concessions. To their great joy, the Commons rejected the proposal of a regent.[2] The Commons knew that the King was in dire want of money, and they expected to compel him to exclude the Duke of York, by refusing to grant any money till he consented. But Charles got a promise of supply for three years from Louis XIV. This the Commons did not know, and they again passed the Exclusion Bill. Once more the comic element appears in the midst of a political crisis. Two sedan chairs came to the House of Lords, which was sitting in the Geometry School. The King was in one; the other had the blinds drawn, and it was supposed to contain some one in attendance on His Majesty. Presently the Commons were summoned from the Convocation House, in which they were sitting, to the House of Lords. They hurried across, confident that they

[1] "If means can be found that, in the case of a Popish succession, the administration of the government may remain in Protestant hands, I shall be ready to hearken to any such expedient."

[2] "God be praised, God hath blinded them in so great a measure that they would have all or nothing." The day before the dissolution, Palm Sunday, 27th March, "the king after sermon (from Fell, Bishop of Oxford, in the Cathedral) touched many for the evill" (Anthony Wood). Richard Wiseman, surgeon to Charles II., and really great in his profession, fully believed in the efficacy of the King's touch. During his reign, Charles II. is said to have touched more than 92,000 persons.

were to hear that the King had given way to them. The King was sitting in his State robes, which were necessary for dissolving Parliament, and which had been brought in the second sedan chair. He pronounced the formula of dismissal, and then hurried away to Windsor. We may agree with Burnet, that it was "not very decently" done; but it completely routed the Whigs, who were so taken by surprise that they had no plans.[1] A few hot-headed people were for continuing to sit, in spite of the dissolution. But English respect for the Constitution was too strong for such revolutionary projects; and the members, who had come in such tumultuous array to Oxford, were soon scattered over the country, each hurrying, like the King, to his home. The Parliament had sat just seven days (21st to 28th March), and Charles was not bound by law to call another for three years. The reign lasted nearly four years more; but Parliament was never summoned again. The King did not want one; and the Tories and Church party, who had been so defeated at the last three elections, did not want one either.[2] The most extravagant notions respecting the divine right

[1] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, iv. p. 65. It was about this time that Burnet sent the King a "very plain letter" of remonstrance about his evil life. It was a long one; but Charles read it through twice before burning it.

[2] Shaftesbury was arrested in July, and sent to the Tower to be tried in November. A week before the trial, Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* was published. As Sir Walter Scott remarks, "the time of its appearance was chosen with as much art as the poem displays genius."

of kings, and the royal prerogative, and the duty of non-resistance, were once more fiercely maintained by the Cavaliers, and constantly preached by the clergy.[1] As Welwood remarks, "A certain Set of Men began a second time to adopt into our religion a Mahometan Principle, under the names of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance; which, since the time of the Impostor that first broach'd it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the world."

This was the party of absolute reaction, who were willing to lie down before an hereditary monarch and allow him to do what he pleased. They seriously maintained that, if a Nero came by right of birth to the English throne, it would be the duty of Englishmen to allow him to trample on the laws, and take their lands and their lives, without stirring a finger to resist him. These amazing opinions were not merely whispered at Court. They were boisterously toasted at the Universities, as if they were the necessary views of a gentleman; and were taught from the pulpit, as if they were part of revealed truth.[2]

[1] Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha*, written about 1650, was not published until 1680, and it was warmly welcomed by this extreme party. A second edition, with a preface by Edmund Bohun, appeared in 1685. Locke said of it, that "so much glib nonsense was never put together in well-sounding English"; and Hallam (*Literature of Europe*, iii. 440) is equally contemptuous. But the book had a great success during the Second Stuart Tyranny.

[2] Lake, Bishop of Chichester, said on his deathbed that this doctrine was "the distinguishing character of the Church of England." The clergy who attended Monmouth at the scaffold

Addresses to this effect poured in from all parts of the kingdom, and it might almost have seemed as if some of the Tories thought that there was a positive advantage in the fact that they could prove their loyalty by expressing devotion to a Roman Catholic heir to the throne. Indeed it was said that the attempt to exclude the Duke of York from the succession had had the effect of making him begin to reign during his brother's lifetime. This is exaggeration; but the Duke did become more influential, while the King's interest in public affairs began henceforth to wane.

Besides this extreme Tory party, which may be described as the old party of the Cavaliers, with all the romance and chivalry left out, there were two others: (1) the moderate constitutional party, who wished to maintain the monarchy with a reasonable amount of prerogative, and also to uphold the Church of England without any such concessions to Presbyterians as would destroy its historical character; and (2) the more revolutionary party, anxious to curtail the Royal prerogative, to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, and to improve the position of the Nonconformists. On the whole, it was this last named party which was doing most for the cause of religious toleration; but, as we have seen,

told him that he could not be a member of the English Church unless he accepted it. It may be doubted whether there was any article of the Christian faith that was at that time so much insisted upon as this monstrous addition to it. Burnet, *Own Time*, 1681. See Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* viii. pp. 472, 473, ed. 1852.

it discredited itself by its violence, and in the conspiracies connected with the Rye House Plot it lost its leaders. It was the reactionary ultra-Tory party that was triumphant, and it was a party of ferocious intolerance.

The Clarendon Code of *Corporation Act*, *Conventicle Act*, *Five Mile Act*, and *Uniformity Act*, was once more worked with ruthless vigour. Magistrates vied with one another in the sport of hunting out Dissenters. Tolerant justices of the peace were struck off the list, and those of the right amount of bigotry were put in their places. The horrible jails were filled to suffocation with Dissenters, and even Whigs who were not Dissenters were hardly safe. The clergy, who were so ready to welcome a Romanist heir to the Crown, had nothing but denunciation for Nonconformists who were not Roman. "So that," as Burnet says, "in all their sermons Popery was quite forgot, and the force of their zeal was turned almost wholly against the Dissenters. And such of the clergy as would not engage in that fury were cried out upon as the betrayers of the Church, and as secret favourers of the Dissenters." He adds that there were not many of these. "The scent of preferment" was too strong.

Then came the attack upon the charters of London and of other great towns. On any kind of pretext these charters were challenged, and then the Chief Justice Jeffreys, who had come to the front in the trial of Algernon Sidney, was ready to declare them

forfeited.[1] Some corporations surrendered their charters without waiting for them to be criticized. Thus all independent local government was destroyed. The King granted new charters of such a kind as to put the control of the boroughs into the power of the men whom he approved; and, if he ever summoned another Parliament, he would be able to get the right kind of men returned. Thus, neither in the kingdom at large, nor in the separate municipalities of which it was composed, was there any longer any independent political power.

This is what is meant by the Second Stuart Tyranny. It was founded on force and intrigue in England, backed by supplies of money from the King of France. But it was not quite the kind of thing which Louis XIV. had meant to buy, when he made his secret treaties with Charles. He meant the despotism to be connected with Roman Catholicism, backed up by Dissenters, who would (it was hoped) be glad to share in the indulgence granted to Roman Catholics. What had come about was this, that the despotism was in closest alliance with Anglicanism, which was taking, as its share of the bargain, the right to inflict upon Dissenters any amount of fines and imprisonment.

Towards the close of his reign Charles shirked

[1] "In no age and in no country have State trials been conducted with a more flagrant disregard for justice and for decency, and with a more scandalous subserviency to the Crown, than in England under Charles II." (Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, i. p. 7). See Irving, *Life of Judge Jeffreys*, p. 215.

business more and more. The Duke of York, in defiance of the *Test Act*, had returned to office, and was allowed more and more power. Perhaps it amused Charles to watch the manœuvres of his brother and Rochester on the one side, and of the Duchess of Portsmouth, Sunderland, and Godolphin on the other; or again, at the Privy Council, to hear Lord Keeper North sparring with Chief Justice Jeffreys. One passage of arms between these two is of interest for our subject.

Jeffreys returned from circuit in October 1684, and reported that he had been surprised to find in the North of England that there were many Roman Catholics in prison. Numbers of these had been good servants of the Crown, and it was not wise to leave them under punishment for supposed share in the Popish Plot, which was now known to have had no existence. Sunderland agreed with him. Halifax opposed him. Then North remarked that there were plenty of Dissenters and other fanatics in prison also. Were they all to be let loose? If there was a wholesale release, what would become of the peace of the kingdom? Charles broke up the Council without any decision being reached.

Four months later Charles II. died. The two Churches, which had each been claiming him as their own during his lifetime, were represented at the bedside of the dying King, and it is significant that testimony is not agreed as to which had the last word. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, was at Whitehall with other Bishops, and they took it in turn to sit

up in the King's room. They told him to prepare for his end; and Sancroft spoke with plain earnestness: "It is time to speak out; for, sir, you are about to appear before a Judge who is no respecter of persons." The Duke of York was reminded by Lady Portsmouth of the need to see that his brother died in the fellowship of the Catholic Church. And Father Huddleston, who had saved Charles in the flight from Worcester, was sent for.[1] Charles had listened respectfully to the Bishops, had allowed the Anglican Visitation of the Sick to be read to him; and, when he had expressed sorrow for his sins, he had let absolution be pronounced over him. But he would not state that he died in communion with the Church of England, nor would he receive the Eucharist from any of the Bishops.[2] It was otherwise when his brother brought the Roman priest. "Sir," said the Duke, "this good man once saved your life; he now comes to save your soul."[3] The King

[1] Huddleston's own account of his interview with the dying King is extant. One statement, at any rate, *cannot* be true; he says that Charles "*made an exact confession of his whole life.*" The whole interview lasted about three-quarters of an hour. Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, iv. p. 78.

[2] "Ken applied himself much to the awaking of the King's conscience. He spoke with a great elevation, both of thought and expression, like a man inspired, as one who was present told me. He pressed the King six or seven times to receive the Sacrament. But the King always declined it, saying he was very weak. Ken pressed him to declare that he desired it, and that he died in the communion of the Church of England. To that he answered nothing" (Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, ii. p. 1013).

[3] Thomas Bruce attributes these words to the King.

made a confession, and received absolution and extreme unction. He was asked whether he wished to communicate. "Surely," he replied, "if I am not unworthy." And the host was brought in and administered. Huddleston held up a crucifix, told him to fix his thoughts on the Passion of Christ, and withdrew. Was it before or after this that Bishop Ken of Bath and Wells, whom Charles had always liked, came and talked so movingly to him, and prayed with him? That is the questionable point; but it does not much matter. That Church which he had never cared to acknowledge during his lifetime, received him just before he died; of that there is no doubt. And shall we say that he was a gentleman, and a good-natured and humorous gentleman to the last?[1] During the night before his death he commended Lady Portsmouth and her son to the care of his successor; "and," he added, "don't let poor Nellie starve." The Queen sent Halifax to excuse her absence, and ask his pardon for any offence she might unwillingly have given. "She ask my pardon!" cried her husband. "I ask hers with all my heart." In the morning he apologized to those who had waited on him all night "for being such an unconscionable time in dying: he hoped they would excuse it." Was that comedy or courtesy? A dying man may have the benefit of the

[1] Burnet, who judges Charles II. very severely, says that "he was certainly the best-bred man of the age." The character of the King, which he draws at the end of his reign, should be read (*Own Time*, 1685). Collier is lenient.

doubt. At noon, on Friday, 6th February, he passed away.

James II. 1685–1688.

During the latter days of Charles II., when plots were being feared for the King's life, James offered Charles his own bodyguard for his protection. The King is said to have replied, "Don't be afraid, brother; no one will kill me in order to make you king." That was true; but not quite so true as Charles thought. There was a plot to get rid of both brothers. Moreover, the nation did not know the character of James so well as Charles did.[1]

England has had its share of bad rulers; but, excepting John and Philip, none is more repulsive than James II.[2] He had all the bad qualities, and scarcely any of the good ones, which distinguish his father and his brother. He cared as much for his own prerogatives and as little for the good of his people as Charles I., and he was as sensual and unscrupulous as Charles II.; but he had neither the courage of the one, nor the tact, and ability, and good-humour of the other. He was as false as his father, and as heartless as his brother; but he had not the culture

[1] At the coronation of James the crown fitted badly, and was near falling off his head. This was noted and regarded as an evil omen. Henry Sidney, Keeper of the Robes, held it up, remarking, "This is not the first time that our family have supported the Crown."

[2] Those who have patience to read a long eulogy of James will find it in *The Adventures of King James II.*, with an introduction by Abbot F. A. Gasquet, Longmans, 1904.

or the taste of either. He was as silly and as coarse as his grandfather, James I., but was more mean and far more ill-tempered. Not one of the first three Stuarts was malignant or cruel. They did cruel things, but to gain their own ends; they did not love cruelty for its own sake. James II. was both malignant and cruel: he took pleasure in inflicting suffering. Burnet tells us that, when James was Viceroy in Scotland, those who were brought before the Council were often tortured. Then, almost all members of the Council would "offer to run away; the sight was so dreadful. But the Duke was so far from withdrawing, that he looked on all the while with an unmoved indifference, and with an attention, as if he had been to look on some curious experiment. This gave a terrible idea of him to all that observed it, as of a man that had no bowels nor humanity in him. Lord Perth, observing this, resolved to let him see how well qualified he was to be an Inquisitor General" (*Own Time*, 1684). The horrible vengeance taken upon those who had supported Monmouth's rebellion was inspired by him. Jeffreys hung 300 Somersetshire peasants in the Bloody Assize;[1] but, when he was a dying man in

[1] Burnet says 600; the judges sent to the Treasury a list of 320. Inderwick would reduce this to 150 or less (*Sidelights on the Stuarts*, p. 392); see the *National Review*, September 1906, p. 71. Anthony Wood gives these numbers: at Dorchester 249 condemned, of whom 200 were reprieved; at Exeter 13 reprieved out of 77; at Taunton all but three out of over 400; at Wells all but one out of over 300 (20th September 1685). See Irving, *Life of Jeffreys*, pp. 265, 361, 367.

the Tower, some three years later (12th December 1688–18th April 1689), he told Tutchin, Sharp, and Scott that the severities of that Assize were short of what the King had required, and that by his forbearance he had greatly displeased his master. It will be remembered among the horrors of that time that James had Alice Lisle beheaded at Winchester (2nd September 1685) for giving shelter to a fugitive, and had Elizabeth Gaunt burned at Tyburn (23rd October) for a similar act. The latter was the last woman put to death for a political offence in England. As to the patriotism of James II., he was at heart more French than English. The absolutism of Louis XIV. was always in his mind as a thing to be imitated. Louis said of him: "He likes my pistoles just as his brother did." But his brother cared only for French money, to spend on his extravagant pleasures: he did not want the trouble involved in French despotism. James II. wanted to be more than a despot: he thought that he was almost the Vicegerent of the Almighty.

And here we touch upon the one trait in his character which it is possible to admire,—his loyalty to the Church of Rome.[1] Both before and after his accession it would have been greatly to his

[1] Dryden, in his fulsome *Threnodia Augustalis* on the death of Charles II., calls attention to the fidelity of James to his religion (line 486):

"His truth, like Heaven's, was kept inviolate."

Dryden, who had lamented Cromwell as a hero, and had greeted the return of Charles II. with loyalist enthusiasm, joined the Church of Rome soon after the accession of James. He seems to have remained a sincere Romanist.

interest to abandon Romanism, and conform to the Church of England; but he never seems to have regarded such a step as possible for him. He was a Romanist, and would work for Rome. And it was this resolve, in the carrying out of which he went beyond the policy of the Pope himself, that proved fatal to him. And he had had plenty of warnings.

When his bigoted mother, Queen Henrietta Maria, returned to Somerset House after the Restoration, she said: "If she had known the temper of the nation some years past as well as she did then, she would never have been obliged to leave that house."

Charles II., on his deathbed, in giving his brother the key of his strong box, advised him not to think of introducing the Romish religion into England, a thing that was both dangerous and impracticable.

Ronquillo, the Spanish Ambassador, at his first audience after the death of Charles, asked if he might speak his mind quite freely. He then begged James not to pay attention to the priests whom he had about him, who would be sure to importune him to alter the established religion in England; if he did listen to them, he would have reason to repent of doing so, when it was too late. James was very angry, and asked whether in Spain they did not take the advice of their confessors.[1] "Yes,

[1] James had summoned the Jesuit Petre to Whitehall and given him the rooms which he himself had had as Duke of York; and Petre had the keeping of the King's conscience. Petre began to wear Roman clerical costume, and while doing so came across Dr. Busby, the great master of Westminster. Busby asked the meaning of this attire. "I had not had it on, honour-

Sir, we do"; was the reply: "and that is the reason that our affairs go so ill."

Pope Innocent XI.[1] wrote to James on his accession to the English throne, that "he was highly pleased with his Majesty's zeal for the Catholic religion; but he was afraid his Majesty might push it too far, and instead of contributing to his own greatness, and to the advancement of the Catholic Church, he might come to do both it and himself the greatest prejudice, by attempting that which the Pope was well assured, from long experience, could not succeed" (Welwood, *Memoirs*, pp. 133–136).

All these advisers might as well have spoken to the winds. With James they weighed as nothing compared with the fanatical Jesuits, who ceaselessly had his ear, and one or more of whom was the keeper of his conscience. These men were confident about their aims, and plumed themselves on their success in attaining them. But, like the Society to which they belonged, they won victories which were worse than defeats. They had cunning enough to get the King to do what they desired, but they had not the wisdom to know what they ought to desire. They

able master, but that the Lord Jesus had need of me." "I never heard that our Lord and Saviour had need of anything but an ass," was the master's reply.

[1] Innocent XI. requested the General of the Jesuits to keep Father Petre, the adviser of James, in better order. The Pope is said to have given not only sympathy but money in support of William of Orange against James and Louis. It was Innocent XI. who condemned the immoral casuistry of the Jesuits, in the Bull *Sanctissimus*, 2nd March 1679.

won point after point in the game which they were playing., and the net result of their successes was absolute disaster.[1]

We may divide the short reign of James II. into three periods. 1. The first nine months (February to November), during which he had the support of not only the Tories and the clergy, but of most moderate men. 2. Two years and nine months, down to the acquittal of the seven Bishops (30th June 1688), during which James went on from one folly and iniquity to another, in violating the Constitution and his own express promises. 3. The last six months, down to his landing in France (25th December 1688), during which he tried to undo some of his despotic acts, thereby convincing the nation that, like most bullies, he was a coward when he was seriously threatened with retribution.[2]

1. His relations with the Church of England admit of being summed up very briefly. To a very large extent he owed his Crown to the Anglican clergy:

[1] Father Edward Petre, the King's Confessor, was one of the most active, and he was very influential with Sunderland. James wanted the Pope to give Petre a dispensation to accept promotion in the English Church, such as the Archbishopric of York, which was kept vacant from April 1686 to November 1688. Innocent refused. James then tried to get Petre made Cardinal. Innocent would not hear of it. Whenever the Earl of Castlemaine came to him and began to urge these requests, the Pope was seized with a violent fit of coughing (Welwood, *Memoirs*, p. 185; Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd Series, iv. p. 311).

[2] But it is not just to call James a coward absolutely. If he had been a coward on the field of battle he would not have won the esteem of Turenne.

if they had not, with "faith unshaken to an exiled heir," opposed the Exclusion Bill, it would have passed, and he would have been shut out from the succession. Yet, during the whole of his reign, James did his best to insult and trample upon those who had been so foolishly indulgent towards him. He probably was as greatly mistaken about them as they were about him. They had supposed that he would do no more than absent himself from the services of the national Church and attend Mass in the royal chapel: in all other ways he would give his protection and support to the Church of England. He apparently thought that the High Church Anglicans were so Catholic in their views, that they would very quickly adopt Roman Catholicism, when they had a Roman Catholic sovereign to sustain them in so doing.[1]

For a moment the Anglican clergy were confirmed in their opinion respecting him. With the readiness of a Stuart, he gave the most ample promises as to the correctness of his intentions. Immediately after his brother's death he was proclaimed King, a proceeding which Burnet says was "a heavy solemnity" performed in "dead silence."[2] Then the Privy

[1] Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, i. p. 10. Dryden says of the attitude of James to the Church of England: "He cannot bend her and he would not break" (*Hind and Panther*, line 336). The latter statement is quite untrue.

[2] Calamy, who was present, whereas Burnet was not, says that his heart ached within him at the acclamations made for such a sovereign (*Own Life*, i. p. 116). No doubt the behaviour of the people was not everywhere the same.

Council met, and the King made a short speech, "which it seems was well considered, and much liked by him, for he repeated it to his Parliament, and upon several other occasions." He had it printed and circulated, and it gave great satisfaction to those who believed that he would keep the promises made in it (*Own Time*, 1685).[1] He said that "since it had pleased Almighty God to place him in that station, and that he was now to succeed to so good and gracious a king as well as so very kind a brother, he thought fit to declare to them that he would endeavour to follow his example, and especially in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people; and that, though he had been reported to be a man for arbitrary power, yet he was resolved to make it his endeavour to preserve the Government of England both in Church and State as it was then established by law. That he knew the principles of the Church of England were for Monarchy, and that the members of it had shewed themselves good and loyal subjects; therefore he would always take care of it, and defend and support it. That he knew that the laws of England were sufficient to make the King

[1] People in general did believe this: "We have," they said, "the word of a king, and a word never yet broken." In May 1685, Parliament unanimously agreed, "That this House doth acquiesce and entirely rely and rest satisfied in his Majesty's gracious word and repeated declaration to support and defend the religion of the Church of England." John Sharp (then Dean of Norwich and afterwards Archbishop of York) said in a sermon, "As to our religion, we have the word of a king, which (with reverence be it spoken) is as sacred as my text."

as great a Monarch as he could wish : and that as he would never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, so he would never invade any man's property. That, as he had often hitherto ventured his life in defence of this nation, so he was resolved to go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties " (Welwood, pp. 136, 137).

The fulsome addresses which were made to him in reply to these fair promises confirmed James in the expectation that he would be allowed to do what he pleased. The University of Oxford promised to obey him without limitations or restrictions. The London clergy, on the other hand, who spoke of " our religion established by law, dearer to us than our lives," were regarded as scarcely loyal. Those who presented addresses with these objectionable words were put on a black list for future penalties. But, in the majority of addresses, loyalty went mad in the extravagance of its expressions.

On the second Sunday of his reign (15th February), James showed his hand a little by going to Mass in state. The Duke of Norfolk, carrying the sword in front of him, stopped at the door of the royal chapel. The King, as he passed him, said, " My Lord, your father would have gone further." The Duke made the happy reply, " Your Majesty's father would not have gone so far." Two days later he buried the late King, " very obscurely," says Evelyn, " and without any manner of pomp." This meanness disgusted very many. But the mean funeral was a

studied slight to the Anglican clergy; for it was necessary that Charles should be buried with the Anglican service. At the Coronation (23rd April) James acted in a similar way. The service must be Anglican; but he had it greatly shortened; and at the responses, although the Queen said them devoutly, the King never opened his lips.[1]

He showed his hand still more by ordering the Customs to be collected before they were voted by Parliament, which was at once a breach of the laws which he had promised to maintain. Although he had persuaded his brother during the last four years of his reign to govern without a Parliament, James himself was obliged to summon one. He wanted money, if possible, for life; and he wanted to free Romanists from the penal laws. When Parliament met, he had the face to make to it much the same kind of speech that he had made to the Privy Council (30th May 1685). The Parliament consisted largely of his own creatures.[2] It condoned his having taken the Customs before they had been voted to him. It supplied him with a good income for life. But it refused to abate the penal laws against Roman Catholics.

Monmouth's rebellion gave James a pretext for raising a standing army and becoming a military

[1] The Coronation Oath, as taken by James II., has never been used since. The Parliament of 1689 prescribed a new form, introducing the words, "the *Protestant Reformed* religion."

[2] He boasted that there were not many more than forty that were not his own nominees.

despot. Had he aimed at this alone, he might for a time have succeeded, and the nation would have had to pass through another grievous struggle to regain its liberty. But he was also bent on converting the nation to Popery; and this project wrecked the other.[1] He not only raised an army of 30,000 men, with 13,000 in camp at Hounslow Heath to intimidate London, but he ignored the *Test Act*, and appointed Romanist officers. This outrage brings the first period to a close. Moderate men saw that they could no longer support him.

2. The Parliament, which met again in November, was packed, but it protested against the appointment of officers who had not taken the test, and requested the King to cashier them.[2] The Lords, including the Bishops, assumed a similar attitude. Compton, Bishop of London, in the name of his brethren, declared the whole Constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, to be in danger, and the clergy began to

[1] The Church of England was far too strong for him. Kettlewell thought that it "was never known to be in a more flourishing condition than at this time. All things duly weighed, it became much more powerful by the opposition made against it, and grew by the favours indulged to its adversaries. The number of converts made in the reign of this King to his religion was mostly inconsiderable, if it could be said to be any at all. On the other side, for certain, great numbers of Dissenters were brought into the communion of the Church by the writings of the orthodox clergy. It was remarked as a proof of the flourishing state of the Church, that the rites and ceremonies were better observed, the churches full, the communions more frequent" (*Life*, 59).

[2] Anthony Wood, *Life and Time*, 12th February, 20th July, 12th August, 1685.

preach against Popery. James removed Compton from the Privy Council, and by means of "closetings," *i.e.* private interviews, tried to win over the leaders of the opposition. Of the Bishops, Crewe of Durham, Sprat of Rochester, and Turner of Ely still supported him. Partly out of hatred of them as Protestants, and partly in hopes of propitiating Anglican clergy, he strenuously persecuted the Dissenters, and urged the prosecution of Baxter, who was bullied in court and imprisoned for two years. James did not forget that the Dissenters had supported the Exclusion Bill (Irving, *Life of Jeffreys*, pp. 253–255).

The new Chief Justice, Edward Herbert, said that the King could dispense with the laws. The twelve judges were "closeted," and those who did not agree with the Chief Justice were removed. Then a test case was taken (Sir Edward Hales), and the judges, without stating reasons, decided for the Crown. The Court of King's Bench, therefore, ruled, that the English sovereign is an absolute monarch.[1] Thus one safeguard of the English Constitution was got out of the way. Parliament, packed though it was, was too independent to suit James; and it was constantly prorogued, without being allowed to transact business. Two safeguards gone: the courts of law corrupted, and Parliament

[1] When William landed at Torbay, one of those who met him was Sir John Maynard, a Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal, and Recorder of the Borough. He was nearly ninety, and William remarked that he had outlived all the men of the law of his own time. Sir John replied, that he would probably have outlived the law itself, if his Highness had not come over.

silenced. There remained the clergy. They diligently preached and wrote against Romanism. Seldom before had such learning been exhibited in defence of Anglicanism against Rome.[1] Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tenison, Patrick, and Wake took the lead. Wake had long been in France, and knew the ins and outs of Roman controversial methods. The replies on the Roman side were surprisingly weak; sometimes merely bad translations from the French. "Popery," says Burnet, "was never so well understood by the nation, as it came to be on this occasion" (*Own Time*, 1686; comp. Anthony Wood, April 1687).

The Court of High Commission was revived. It had been abolished by Act of Parliament with royal assent under Charles I., with the proviso that this Court should never be revived by the Crown. But a king who could dispense with the laws could override an Act of Parliament. The revived Court consisted of three Bishops and four laymen. Of these, the Lord Chancellor and two laymen sufficed for a quorum. This Court could censure, suspend, and excommunicate. Archbishop Sancroft declined to serve; but he did not protest, he pleaded age and infirmity. The King adroitly said that, in that case, he would relieve him from attendance at the Privy Council. Crewe, Sprat, and Cartwright were willing to serve, and the Court proceeded to suspend Compton, Bishop of London.

[1] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, iv. pp. 84, 86. See Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors*, p. 4, note.

Lord Rochester, for refusing to be converted to Romanism, was deprived of the post of Lord Treasurer. Then the whole government was in the hands of the King, the Jesuit Petre, and the tricky Sunderland.[1]

James had expected that the prospect of persecuting Dissenters would win over English Churchmen to Romanism. That device had failed; Anglicans, in their abhorrence of Romanism, had drawn closer to Dissenters. This led James to a complete right-about-face as regards policy. He would break the alliance of Church and Dissent against Romanism by favouring Dissenters, and suggesting to them that it was the English Church which had caused them to be persecuted. Instead of Church and Crown against Dissent, it was to be Crown and Dissent against the Church.

The Bishops unconsciously played into the King's hands. In Lent 1687 some of them charged ministers and churchwardens to present all those who did not attend the Lord's Supper at Easter. Just at this moment James remitted fines and released prisoners, including Baxter. He had the face to tell the Privy Council (18th March) that it had "always been his opinion, as most suitable to the principles of Christianity, that no man should be persecuted

[1] The extreme and illegal measures of James were opposed by some even of the Roman Catholics. But neither the patience of the Protestants nor the moderation of the wiser Romanists had any effect on James, Guizot (*Causes of the Success of the English Revolution*, p. 114).

for conscience' sake" : and on 4th April the Declaration appeared, dispensing with the tests enacted under Charles II., and also the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance. Many Dissenters were caught in the snare ; and sixty laudatory addresses were presented by them.[1] *The Letter to a Dissenter*, probably by Lord Halifax, was very effective in rousing Dissenters to join with Churchmen in resisting the King's attempt to introduce Romanism under cover of a general indulgence to Dissent.

Then came the ejection of the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, for refusing to accept a Romanist as President,[2] and the command to read the Declaration of Indulgence in churches. Sancroft and six Bishops petitioned against this ; and the King said that their petition amounted to rebellion. A tract called *Reasons against reading the Declaration* was written by Lord Halifax, and distributed by thousands. Only in about two hundred churches in the kingdom was the Declaration read ; in London, only in four.[3] Burnet

[1] See Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors*, pp. 8 ff. ; Hallam, *Const. History of England*, iii. p. 73, note. In this short reign more than two hundred treatises were written against Popery : of these only two or three were by Dissenters. Comp. Anthony Wood, 7th August 1687.

[2] This ejection had an immense effect upon public opinion. The President and Fellows were turned out of their freehold. If the King could deal in this way with property, whose possessions were safe ? See Bloxham, *Magdalen College and James II.*, for a full account of the whole transaction.

[3] Evelyn heard it read at Whitehall by one of the choirmen. At Hereford it was read in one church, and the congregation

says it was plain "that the King had not only the seven petitioning Bishops to deal with, but the body of the whole Nation, both Clergy and Laity" (*Own Time*, 1688). Yet the Jesuits persuaded the demented King to send the seven Bishops to the Tower, 8th June. They were acquitted, 30th June. Shouts of applause and exultation greeted the verdict, and were echoed even by the troops on Hounslow Heath. The whole kingdom made public festival, as if for a great victory; and on the very day of the acquittal the invitation to William of Orange, to come over and save England from the tyrant, was dated. It also was signed by seven leading men, and one of them was Compton, Bishop of London.[1]

3. Perhaps there has never been a moment, in all its eventful history, when the Church of England has been so intensely popular as at the trial of the seven Bishops. Just as, fifty years before, leading Churchmen had sanctioned attacks on civil liberty, and had caused the Church to be proportionately detested; so now, leading Churchmen had made a great stand in defence of civil liberty, and the Church

at once left; at Oxford, not in a single church. Lamplugh, Bishop of Exeter, would not sign the petition of the seven Bishops, but he wrote *approbo* on the margin. Yet, desiring to be safe, he ordered the Declaration to be read in the Cathedral. The Dean sent him word that, if he liked to betray the Church, he should not betray the Cathedral; he himself would sooner be hanged at the doors than that the Declaration should be read there.

[1] The other six were: Henry Sidney, the Earl of Devon, Lords Shrewsbury and Lumley, Edward Russell, and Danby, the Tory Minister of Charles II.

was proportionately beloved.[1] Evelyn writes, 23rd July: "Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, wrote a very honest and handsome letter to the Commissioners Ecclesiastical, excusing himself from sitting any longer among them, he by no means approving of their prosecuting the clergy who refused to read the Declaration for liberty of conscience, in prejudice of the Church of England." This was all the more 'handsome' of Sprat, inasmuch as he himself, as Dean of Westminster, had read the Declaration in the Abbey, thereby causing a stampede of the congregation. When he finished reading, there was no one left, but the choirmen and the scholars.

A son had been born to James while the Bishops were in the Tower (10th June).[2] This helped to seal his fate. So long as it was certain that one of his Protestant daughters, born of an English mother (Anne Hyde), would succeed him, the nation was inclined to be patient of his despotism. But now there was the possibility that this son of an Italian princess (Mary of Modena) would begin a line of popish and un-English kings. Besides this, the stream of persecuted Protestants passing from France to England told the English nation what

[1] It is sometimes said that Samuel Wesley, father of the great Methodist leader, was one of the clergy who were urged in vain to support the King. But Samuel was not then in Orders. He was ordained deacon by Sprat, 7th August 1688, and priest by Compton, 24th February 1690.

[2] It was Trinity Sunday; on which day Edward the Black Prince is said to have been born in 1330: see Dryden's *Britannia Rediviva.*

horrors Romanism was committing on the Continent. It was in vain that James gave orders for the restoration of the rightful President and Fellows of Magdalen College, and made other attempts at reparation.[1] It was too late; and these concessions were regarded as signs of cowardice rather than of repentance. The clergy, to whom he had owed his Crown, and whom he had repaid with contemptuous arrogance, now threw their influence against him, as previously they had thrown it for him; and the invitation to William of Orange was the result. The nation, the nobility, and the Church were all united against the Romanist despot. On his birthday (14th October), Evelyn tells us that no guns were fired from the Tower. Three weeks later William was at Torbay; and in less than two months James had fled from the throne which he ought never to have been allowed to ascend.

The downfall of James II. was the exaltation of the principle of toleration; toleration, not as an indulgence to be granted or withheld at the pleasure of the sovereign, but as a recognized condition of government. Before coming to England, the Prince and Princess of Orange let it be known that, in their opinion, "no Christian ought to be per-

[1] "Not an effort was made, not a drop of blood was shed, in defence of James. No less abject in the presence of danger than he had been obstinate in refusing to foresee it, he tried to regain by weakness what he had lost by temerity. He retracted all that he had done, granted all that he had refused. . . . His meanness was as unavailing as his temerity had been impotent" (Guizot, p. 116).

secuted for his conscience, or be ill-used because he differs from the public and established religion ;[1] and therefore, that they can consent that the Papists in England, Scotland, and Ireland be suffered to continue in their religion with as much liberty as is allowed to them by the States of Holland ; in which it cannot be denied but they enjoy a full liberty of conscience.[2] And as to the Dissenters, their Highnesses did not only consent, but did heartily approve of their having an entire liberty for the full exercise of their religion ; and were ready to concur to the settling and confirming of this liberty" (Welwood, *Memoirs*, p. 150). Still, as we shall see, it was only an imperfect and inconsistent form of toleration, and not full religious liberty, that was won by the Revolution of 1688.

[1] Even the fiery Tertullian had contended for this principle : "*nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi*" (*ad Scapulam*, 2).

[2] In Reresby's Memoirs it is stated that there were four thousand Roman Catholics in the army which William brought over to secure Protestantism in England. This may be exaggeration ; but such a statement would not have been made unless the numbers had been large. Pope Innocent XI. sympathized with the expedition, and many Romanists may have done the same. "It proved almost as easy to dethrone the Stuarts as to restore them" (Lord Acton, *Lectures*, p. 228).

IV.

1688–1702.

THE LATITUDINARIAN FAILURE AND SUCCESS.

"To purchase kingdoms, and to buy renown,
Are arts peculiar to dissembling France;
You, mighty monarch, nobler actions crown,
And solid virtue does your name advance.

Your matchless courage with your prudence joins
The glorious structure of your fame to raise;
With its own light your dazzling glory shines,
And into adoration turns our praise.

Had you by dull succession gained your crown
(Cowards are monarchs by that title made),
Part of your merit Chance would call her own,
And half your virtues had been lost in shade.

But now your worth its just reward shall have:
What trophies and what triumphs are your due!
Who could so well a dying nation save,
At once deserve a crown, and gain it too?"

SWIFT, *Ode to King William.*

IV.

1688–1702.

THE LATITUDINARIAN FAILURE AND SUCCESS.

From her former troubles, in the struggle with Charles I. and the military despotism which followed it, England had learned, by bitter experience, that a revolution is a gigantic evil, beset with dangers and disfigured by crimes; an evil which the most reasonable and patient of peoples may be compelled to undergo, but which they will dread and will endeavour to avoid, until it is forced upon them by necessity. In her recent troubles, under the tyranny of James II., England had not forgotten this lesson. The nation endured much, and waited long, in the hopes of being able to escape from another revolution. Nor did the people acquiesce in such a remedy, until they saw that there was no other way of preserving their independence, their property, and their religion. It is one of the glories of the Revolution of 1688 that it was an act, on the part of the nation and its leaders, of necessary self-

defence. In religion, it failed and it succeeded; it failed, by its unwisdom, to produce comprehension; but it succeeded in inaugurating a large measure of toleration.

Another of the glories of the Revolution of 1688 is that in England it was bloodless. Not a single battle was fought in support of James; not a single statesman was sent to the scaffold for having faithfully served him. There was no Marston Moor or Naseby; no execution of a Strafford or a Laud; still less was there any Bloody Assize. Even Jeffreys himself was allowed to end his days in the Tower, in which he had taken refuge from the vengeance of the mob. The brutal Kirke remained colonel of "Kirke's Lambs," and Crewe retained the wealthy see of Durham. The charters of the towns, which had been cancelled under Charles II., were restored. The Whig statesmen suggested that those who had taken part in surrendering the charters should be disfranchised, at any rate for a time, and they would have excepted many from any act of indemnity. But all this was foreign to William's character. He made his Act of Grace very comprehensive; and, even where he knew that men were not to be trusted, he relied upon their shrewdness to see that their worldly interests lay with him rather than with James or his son.

From one very great difficulty James himself freed the new rulers by running away. Had he remained in the kingdom he might have been a source of great trouble; and William was not very pleased when

James' first attempt at flight proved abortive. Deposed and captive sovereigns are a serious embarrassment to their successors. Henry IV. had found it so with Richard II., and Edward IV. with Henry VI. In more recent times there were the difficulties of Elizabeth with Mary of Scots, and of Cromwell with Charles I. James was told that he might reside at Rochester, or one or two other places. From Rochester escape to the Continent would be very easy, and, therefore, he selected it.[1] When he fled the second time, no one stopped him, and on Christmas Day 1688 he reached Ambleteuse on the French coast. It was close to this spot that William of Normandy, more than six centuries before, had collected the fleet with which he crossed to the conquest of England. The fugitive King took refuge on the shore whence his predecessor had set out to conquer. The one left home to win a Crown, the other to lose one. James never set foot in his own kingdom again.

But it was William III. who resembled William I. in his passage from France to England to win a Crown. Both of them had previously visited the country which they were to rule. William of Orange had been in England in 1678 on a visit to Charles II., just as William of Normandy had visited Edward the Confessor in 1051. In both cases the foreign

[1] The house from which he escaped to the Medway still exists. James in his *Memoirs* remarks that the guards were not very vigilant, which "confirmed him in the belief that the Prince of Orange would be well enough contented he should get away."

visitor saw enough to prepare him for important developments in the future. Probably the Prince of Orange saw that his being summoned to reform the government of England was only a question of time. In the ten years between his first visit and his return, the question of the succession to the English Crown had become one of European importance. There was a hope cherished at Rome, and at several Courts on the Continent, that Protestantism as a political factor might be wiped out. To establish a Roman Catholic dynasty in England would be a very important step in this direction. The attempt had been made, and was having some success, when the folly of James and his Jesuit advisers precipitated the crisis which had caused William of Orange to be invited to England, and James II. to take refuge in France.[1]

Then, was the Revolution of 1688 merely the change from a Romanist king to a Protestant one? It was a great deal more than that: it was both a recovery of what was ancient, and an advance to something that was very modern. It was a recovery, after the long interval of personal monarchy under the Tudors and the Stuarts, to the more constitutional monarchy of the later Plantagenets. And it was an

[1] In his *Appeal to Honour and Justice*, Defoe points out how useful to the nation, and how fatal to James himself, was the precipitation with which he acted.

> "For arbitrary power is so strange a thing,
> It makes the Tyrant, and unmakes the King!"
>
> *The True-Born Englishman.*

advance from the parliamentary government at the close of the fifteenth century, in which the Lords predominated, to the parliamentary government at the close of the seventeenth century, in which the Commons predominated. The principle (which has prevailed ever since, and which appears to be final) was now for the first time generally recognized in England,—that, in the last resort, the decision in the State rests, not with the sovereign, but with the people. This principle has developed enormously since 1688, and now the people control government to an extent that was impossible then. But no new principle has been introduced. What has taken place is this : the portion of the nation which forms the controlling body has greatly increased ; and the amount of control which it exerts has also increased. But there has been no change of principle.

Yet it has been said that the Revolution of 1688 was exclusively aristocratic,[1] planned and carried out by the higher classes entirely for their own advantage. There is an element of truth in this ; but to state the matter in this form is strangely misleading. The Revolution of 1688 was aristocratic, not in its essential characteristics, but simply in the manner in which it was brought about. It was the

[1] "The English Revolution," says Lecky, "was a movement essentially aristocratic" (*England in the Eighteenth Century*, i. p. 16). Lord Acton says that it was "essentially monarchical"; yet on the same page he says: "Parliament became supreme in administration as well as in legislation. The King became its servant on good behaviour, liable to dismissal for himself or his Ministers" (*Lectures*, p. 231).

English aristocracy that took the lead, and made the cause to triumph. But the cause which triumphed was not that of the aristocracy, but of the whole of the English people. In its essential characteristics the revolution was democratic in a very marked degree. It asserted and secured two political principles which are as truly democratic as any to be found in history: (1) the essential rights common to all citizens, and (2) the effectual participation of the nation in its own government. From the religious point of view, also, the revolution was democratic. It was made in accordance with the religious convictions of the large majority of the people, and one of its main objects was to give those convictions permanence and predominance. On its political side the revolution was parliamentary; on its religious side it was Protestant.

James II. blundered to the very last. He left the kingdom under three great delusions. He thought (1) that the absence of the sovereign, who was such an integral part of the Constitution, would throw everything into such confusion, that he would soon be welcomed back on his own terms; (2) that, backed by France, he would return stronger than he was before; (3) that he was an instrument, chosen by Providence, to bring back England under the jurisdiction of Rome. He was hopelessly mistaken on all three points. (1) After the first surprise of his flight was over, the nation saw that it was well rid of him, and at once proceeded to elect a king that would suit its requirements. (2) He never returned

at all, either stronger or weaker, and never had a chance of returning. (3) Providence had quite other plans respecting the English people. Two more centuries have brought the nation no nearer to re-accepting the jurisdiction of Rome.

William of Orange did not get to the bottom of the situation when he said, that the one thing about which he found all parties in England agreed was the necessity of war with France. The desire for war with France was in this case inspired by a religious rather than by a political feeling. It was not merely, or even mainly, as the hereditary opponent of England that France was regarded by the English nation as a power that must be attacked and humbled, but France as the representative of Roman Catholicism.[1] It was with the help of this detested France that James had hoped, and was still hoping, to enforce his own ideal as regards government and religion upon the nation; and all English ideas of national independence, of freedom from continental and papal interference, of an English people with an English Government and an English Church, revolted against the project. James had little chance of being taken again on trial, however he might have behaved himself; but, if anything was needed to make his return impossible, it was the

[1] In 1690 the Pope said to the Earl of Melfort, who was urging him to help James II., "I am fixed in myself that England will throw off that Monster, and call back their own King. I pray for it every day, and would give my life to procure it." But he would not give any money (Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, v. pp. 204, 205).

fact that in flying before the storm, which he himself had raised, he sought a home and help at the Court of the provocative and persecuting King of France. There were, of course, a few in England who were still devoted to James as a Stuart with hereditary right, and a few who were devoted to him as a staunch Roman Catholic. There were also a good many who thought that, in the uncertainty of the times, it would be prudent to maintain some kind of secret friendliness towards him.[1] But, with slight exception, the nation may be said to have unanimously resolved that no prince should reign in England upon the terms which James desired to impose.[2]

Let us sum up the proceedings of the Convention,

[1] Thomas Brown (1663–1704), the author of the celebrated epigram on Dr. Fell, might have said of many people what he said of Sherlock the elder :

> "The same allegiance to two kings he pays,
> Swears the same faith to both, and both betrays."

There is also this anonymous epigram on both the Sherlocks, father and son :

> "As Sherlock the elder with his jure divine
> Did not comply till the Battle of Boyne,
> So Sherlock the younger still made it a question
> Which side he would take till the Battle of Preston."

[2] This is true of the clergy as well as of the laity. But the clergy would have liked William to have been Regent, not King, the royal title being still left to James. Evelyn in 1689 writes that "the Bishops were all for a Regency." This would have calmed the scruples of those who could not transfer their oath of allegiance from James to William and Mary. But it was quite unworkable. William said that, unless he had the title of king, he would return to Holland (Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors*, p. 30).

which had been summoned by the Lords at a crisis, when the King had fled, and there was no House of Commons. (1) It declared, that the late King James II., after endeavouring to subvert the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and left the throne vacant. (2) It deprived his posterity of the right of succession. (3) It bestowed the Crown on a foreign prince jointly with an English princess, but in such a way that her share of the Crown was nominal. (4) It fixed the succession for certain contingencies, leaving future Parliaments to deal with further contingencies.

All this shows what a change in public opinion had taken place during the short reign of James II. Under the strong Tory reaction during the last four years of Charles II., the majority of the nation had loudly maintained that even a full Parliament, with the King at its head, had no power to alter the succession. Not even the Whigs had gone so far as to maintain that, not merely one dangerous heir, but a whole royal family, might be set aside for the good of the Commonwealth. The deposition of kings was held to be one of the worst doctrines of Popery and fanaticism. And now, six or eight years later, nearly every person accepted these revolutionary principles almost as a matter of course. The bulk of the nation acquiesced in what was done by the Convention, and probably approved of it.

The Declaration of Rights, drawn up by the Convention and presented to William in the presence of

both Houses,[1] became the *Bill of Rights* by the action of a regular Parliament the following December. The Bill of Rights added one important provision to the Declaration, namely, that no one in communion with the Church of Rome, or married to a Papist, could enjoy the Crown or government of this realm.

Two other points, included neither in the Declaration nor in the Bill of Rights, must be noted.

1. The almost absolute independence of English judges dates from the moment when their office was granted to them during good behaviour, instead of during the King's pleasure. This was finally secured in 1701 by the *Act of Settlement*, which enacted that a judge could not be dismissed, except on the joint address of both Houses of Parliament.

2. The liberty of the Pulpit and of the Press. In the Middle Ages thought had, to some extent, been

[1] This took place 13th February 1689. Evelyn thus writes (23rd February): "I saw the new Queen and King proclaimed, Wednesday, 13th February, with great acclamation and general good reception. Bonfires, bells, guns, etc. It was believed that both, especially the Princess, would have showed some seeming reluctance at least of assuming her father's Crown, and made some apology, testifying her regret that he should by his mismanagement necessitate the nation to so extraordinary a proceeding, which would have showed very handsomely to the world, and according to the character given of her piety; but nothing of all this appeared: she came into Whitehall laughing and jolly, as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported. . . . The Prince, her husband, has a thoughtful countenance, is wonderful serious and silent, and seems to treat all persons alike gravely, and to be very intent on affairs." A little later people said that the Queen *talked* as much as the King *thought*, and as the Princess Anne *ate*.

kept free by the antagonism between Church and State; but the Church, while contending for its own freedom from State control, had endeavoured, in the supposed interests of truth, to repress the free expression of opinion. The Tudors had beaten down the undue claims of ecclesiastics, but they had not granted freedom themselves. Nor had their successors. Every party that came into power had tried to make their power a means of enforcing their own religious principles. But at last men were beginning to see that religion does not need, and indeed is much better without, the application of physical force. Truth will prevail without the infliction of pains and penalties; and the supremacy in matters of opinion which mediæval ecclesiastics had claimed for the corporate Church, was now allowed to belong to the individual reason and conscience.

Few things had manifested the temper of the age more strongly than the fact that Dissenters had contended side by side with Churchmen against the arbitrary Declaration of indulgence made by James. They saw that what James could bestow, on his own personal authority, he could take away in an equally despotic fashion. That was no true religious liberty which was dependent upon the indulgence of a royal bigot.

Again, Churchmen had acquired a deeper conviction of the stability of the English Church.[1] It

[1] As Dryden says in his description of the Panther which represents the Church of England; she

"Had more of Lion in her than to fear."

had no need to secure itself against Romanists and Dissenters by such questionable means as the persecuting Acts of the Clarendon Code. The strength of the Church of England did not lie in such defences as these, but in the reverence and affection which it inspired in the majority of the nation. Most men saw that relief of some kind must be conceded, although the precise way in which relaxation should be granted was still a debated question.

Perfect liberty of conscience was as yet only a theory with a few thinkers. The policies which at that time were advocated by statesmen and religious leaders were those of *comprehension* and of *toleration*. William himself was strongly for comprehension; and he was supported by Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and the Latitudinarians. But the Latitudinarians were not strong, except in London and the large towns. The clergy generally were against comprehension. So also were those sects, such as Baptists and Quakers, which objected to the principle of an Establishment. No measure of comprehension could benefit those who did not wish to be comprehended.[1] Comprehension meant that the public worship of the Church

[1] The dissenting historian H. S. Skeats points out that the refusal of Parliament to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts is intelligible. The clergy, of course, were against all such proposals; "but their opposition was not the only cause of this failure. The truth is, that neither the people at large *nor the majority of the Dissenters* cared about them. Dissent was not popular," and leading Dissenters thought that, if a Comprehension Bill passed, the Test and Corporation Acts would cease to affect them (*History of the Free Churches of England*, 1688–1851, pp. 126, 127).

should be modified, in order that as many as possible of the Dissenters who objected to Church ritual should be able to come in. The scheme broke down for the same reason that a similar policy proposed by Chillingworth, Hales, and others came to nothing a generation or two earlier. Many of the points objected to by Dissenters were regarded by Churchmen as of vital importance, and omission would have been as offensive to them as observance was to Nonconformists. They not unreasonably asked why they should give up what was ancient, and what experience showed was acceptable and edifying to members of the Church, in order to please those who were not members of the Church. By making the proposed changes they would distress Church people, and perhaps after all not win very many Dissenters. In the end, the Comprehension Bill was referred to Convocation, in the Lower House of which it did not long survive.

The alternative policy of toleration was then adopted; and the *Toleration Act* passed without difficulty, 24th May 1689. It was regarded as a great triumph of religious liberty at the time; but it has been much criticised in recent times as a very niggardly and inadequate measure, and involving glaring inconsistencies. Compulsory attendance at the services of the Church of England was abolished, and the right of common worship was guaranteed to communions outside the Church of England, provided that they worshipped with unlocked doors. But the *Conventicle Act* and the *Act of Uniformity*

were not repealed; they were only relaxed in the case of those who proved their loyalty by taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and their Protestantism by denying transubstantiation.[1] Nor were the *Test Act* and the *Corporation Act* repealed; and it was expressly provided that no indulgence was to be granted to Romanists, or those who denied the doctrine of the Trinity.[2] Dissenting ministers were still required to sign the Articles, excepting the 34th, 35th, 36th, and part of the 20th. Still, the *Toleration Act* was a great advance, and it constituted a new condition of things for the Church of England as well as for Nonconformists. Locke was the great exponent of the principles of this advance in his *Letters on Toleration*. But he regarded the Act as imperfect. "Our government," he said, "has not only been partial in matters of religion, but those also who have suffered under that partiality, and have therefore endeavoured by their writings to vindicate their own rights and liberties, have for the most part done it upon narrow principles, suited to the interests of their own sects." But there were some who looked beyond the interests of their

[1] "The English mind had arrived at one of its favourite compromises. The Church of England could no longer persecute, but it was still privileged. A dissenter was disqualified from office, though not regarded as a criminal" (Leslie Stephen, *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, i. p. 88).

[2] Thomas Aikenhead was hanged at Edinburgh, 8th January 1697, for saying that the doctrine of the Trinity was self-contradictory, that Christ was an impostor, and similar errors, although he recanted everything before trial.

own communion. Among these were some of the leading writers in the Church of England, Hammond, Jeremy Taylor, Stillingfleet, and Tillotson, who advocated toleration for all but idolaters. No doubt some theologians have held that magistrates ought to oppose all error and maintain truth. But the Church of England does not claim the interference of the magistrate, except in the case of those religious opinions which are dangerous to society. Self-defence required the exclusion of Romanists from power. Locke argued that, although idolatry might be tolerated, yet the Church of Rome could not, because it taught that no faith was to be kept with heretics. Tillotson, in a sermon, told the House of Commons that they must provide against Popery, "which is more mischievous than irreligion itself." [1] The Presbyterians were among those who held that the State must establish truth and extirpate error. And even the Independents, who, as we have seen,

[1] The persecution of Protestants as heretics, which was going on in various parts of the Continent, had a great effect on public opinion in England. Refugees were constantly bringing news of how men, women, and children were made to suffer the most hideous cruelties, simply because of their religion. James Stanhope, youngest son of the first Earl of Chesterfield, when his father was British Minister at Madrid, went with him, and in 1691 went to Italy and served under the Duke of Savoy. In Majorca he saw twenty-seven heretics and Jews burned in one day. Next day twenty more were to be burned, and others a few days later. These early experiences had something to do with the steadfastness with which, twenty years later, Stanhope resisted all Jacobite attempts and contended for the Hanoverian succession.

laid down the principle that the State ought to tolerate all religions, expressly excluded Popery and Prelacy, and as regards Romanism and the Church of England were most intolerant. Locke knew better than this. He pointed out that religious doctrines cannot be demonstrated. They are matters of faith, not of knowledge; and therefore force, which is the foundation of the State, can have no place in religion.[1]

It may be doubted, however, whether the abstract justice of some such measure was the fact which caused the *Toleration Act* to pass so easily.[2] It was seen that there was no serious risk in making such concessions. The whole number of Dissenting communions, when added together, was greatly inferior to the Established Church. It was not probable that they would all combine; but, even if they did, the Church would still be able to hold its own against them.

[1] "Locke expounded the principles of the Revolution of 1688, and his writings became the political Bible of the following century. They may be taken as the formal apology of Whiggism" (Leslie Stephen, *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. p. 135; the whole chapter should be read).

[2] The idea of there being any abstract justice in toleration, as it existed in Holland and afterwards in England, was laughed to scorn by Bossuet in his reply to Basnage; "*Heureuse contrée, où l'hérétique est en repos aussi bien que l'orthodoxe, où l'on conserve les vipères comme les colombes et les animaux innocents, où ceux qui composent les poisons, jouissent de la même tranquillité que ceux qui préparent les remèdes! qui n'admirerait la clémence de ces Etats réformés?*" (*Défense de l'Histoire des Variations*, p. 2).

The abolition of the censorships of the Press, which may be called the complement of the *Toleration Act*, and may be mentioned here in connexion with it, did not come till a few years later (1695).[1] Then Englishmen might not only worship in the way which seemed to them to be right, but, both in religion and politics, might express their convictions in print; and they might do so quite independently of the consideration whether what they published was likely to be approved by the Government. Some years before this, to have allowed such freedom would have seemed one of the most dangerous of experiments, making government almost impossible. Although Russia does not yet believe it, experience has proved that the freedom of the press makes government more easy. Restless subjects let out their discontent in words, instead of forming conspiracies. Moreover, by allowing free discussion, Government gets rid of a most invidious

[1] The reasons given at the time for not renewing the censorship of the press, which had been accidentally allowed to lapse, were not those urged by Milton in the *Areopagitica*. The Act had been difficult to carry out, and had, moreover, proved abortive. "Each of the parties longed for perfect freedom to assail its adversary in the press." Nevertheless, "the violence and scurrility of political writing, instead of increasing, were diminished when the curb was removed. Nothing worse than the Jacobite libels against William and Mary in the earlier part of their reign could have been produced under any state of the law. A free press, however, was still exposed to the onslaughts of party vengeance, which could expel Steele from the House of Commons for a fair party pamphlet, order a pastoral of Burnet to be burned by the common hangman, and put Defoe in the pillory for what would now be deemed a harmless squib" (Goldwin Smith, *The United Kingdom*, ii. p. 114).

kind of duty. It has less cares and less work, and avoids precisely that branch of work which is sure to cause friction and faction. It is impossible, with a good grace, to keep on preventing people from saying what they think and wish to say. The gracious thing is to allow them to say what they please. This, then, is the second part of the great changes made by the bloodless Revolution of 1688. The first was, that henceforth government must be carried on in accordance with the will, not of the King, but of the people, as expressed by the House of Commons. The second was, that the House of Commons has no control over the expression of opinion outside its own walls.

If the *Toleration Act* was niggardly in the treatment which it provided for Romanists and Protestant Dissenters, niggardly also was the treatment which the clergy of the Church of England received with regard to the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. It would have satisfied all requirements if they had been told that they must promise not to try to dethrone the new sovereigns, or conspire in favour of James. This nearly all of them would have been willing to do. They did not expect or wish to have James restored. But they had sworn allegiance to James; they had preached the doctrine of non-resistance; and, as long as James lived, a good many of them could not see their way to swearing allegiance to any one else. Their very reasonable scruples deserved tender consideration. But Parliament would have nothing less than the oath

of allegiance to William and Mary. Those who refused to take it, after due time for reflexion, were to be deprived.[1] Five of the seven Bishops who had gone to the Tower rather than obey James in an unlawful demand, now gave up their sees rather than break their oath of allegiance to him. One or two other Bishops did the same, and about four hundred clergy gave up their livings. It was magnificent; but was it war? The duties of sovereign and subject are reciprocal. Can a sovereign neglect all his duties and desert his subjects, and still retain a claim upon their allegiance? Nevertheless, the Nonjurors were consistent, and were willing to suffer for their convictions.[2] Their exodus has been compared with that of the Nonconformist ministers who left their livings rather than obey the *Act of Uniformity* of 1662. The cases are so far parallel, that on both occasions there was an exodus from the Church of earnest and conscientious clergy at a time when earnest and conscientious clergy were greatly needed. But there is also this difference between the cases.

[1] If they did not take the oaths by 1st August 1689 they were to be suspended; if they still refused, they were to be deprived, 1st February 1690. Yet Evelyn found Sancroft still at Lambeth, 7th May 1691. Sancroft told him that he had been advising Beveridge not to take Ken's see to which he had been nominated. Evelyn remarks, that "wise men think it had been better to have let them alone, than to have proceeded with this rigour to turn them out for refusing to swear against their consciences."

[2] It is pleasing to remember that the last act of the Nonjuring Bishops in the House of Lords was to propose two Bills, one for Toleration and one for Comprehension.

Most of the ministers who seceded in 1662 held principles which were inconsistent with their position as clergy of the Church of England. Those who seceded in 1690 held the principles of the Church of England with the utmost fidelity. The second loss, though smaller in numbers, was more serious in its immediate effects. So serious was it, that the saintly Ken doubted whether he ought to resign for such a cause; but, in the end, he refused the oath, and resigned his see.[1] Frampton of Gloucester and Ken were against the policy of perpetuating the schism by consecrating fresh Bishops. Sancroft delegated his powers as Archbishop to Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, and then Lloyd, White, and Turner secretly consecrated Hickes and Wagstaffe to be Bishops of Thetford and Ipswich, 24th February 1694. Lloyd would have signed the petition, for which the seven Bishops were sent to the Tower, but for delay in transmission. But he worked hard for his imprisoned brethren at considerable risk to himself. Turner, the deprived Bishop of Ely, went the length of plotting to restore James, with the help

[1] It was unfortunate that the lawyers who drew the Act of Parliament did not provide that the Nonjuring Bishops and incumbents should be deprived of their spiritual jurisdiction by proper ecclesiastical process. In that case, although the deprivations might still have been condemned as unjust, they could not have been challenged as invalid. On the other hand, the Nonjuring clergy made hardly any attempt to discharge their duties towards the sees or parishes of which Parliament had deprived them. They denied the validity of the deprivation, and yet acted as if they had been released from responsibility.

of a French army. He was allowed to escape,[1] but his political schemes brought much discredit upon the cause of the Nonjurors. Bishop Lake of Chichester, one of the seven in the Tower, said that he considered the day of death and the day of judgment as certain as the 1st of August and the 1st of February, and that he would act accordingly. He did not live to be deprived, for he died 30th August 1689. Before his death he dictated and signed a declaration of his loyalty to the English Church, his adherence to the doctrine of non-resistance, and his willingness to die rather than take the oaths.[2] This was altogether honourable to him. But it is not easy to defend the conduct of the later Nonjurors. That those who had sworn allegiance to James should refuse to take oaths to any one else was intelligible. But that those who had taken no oath to James, and who did not wish to dethrone Anne, should yet keep up a schism by refusing to swear allegiance to the sovereign, was unhappy perversity of judgment. Granted that in 1690 the State had been ruthless,

[1] "Dr. Turner, late Bishop of Ely, being taken last week by Mr. Wilcox the messenger, is discharged, on condition he will transport himself beyond sea" (Narcissus Luttrell, *State Affairs*, iv. 154).

[2] See Baker's *History of St. John's College, Cambridge*, ed. Mayor, ii. pp. 681–696. Nor was it only incumbents and Bishops who were ejected for refusing the oath of allegiance. Dr. Gower, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, allowed many Fellows to retain their Fellowships without taking the oath; but the Government proceeded against him, and King's Bench twice issued a *mandamus* to eject these nonjuring Fellows, 10th August and 23rd September 1693.

and had infringed the liberties of the Church in filling up sees which were not vacant either by resignation or death; was that a reason for refusing to swear allegiance to a new ruler many years later? In 1690 the Government might have imprisoned the Nonjurors, without depriving them; would that have been a better thing for the Church?

By no means all the clergy who took the oaths were satisfied with their position. Ever since they had been in Orders they had preached the doctrines of divine hereditary right and of passive obedience: what had become of their principles?[1] Had William III. any better claim than Oliver Cromwell? It was plain that William was no more an Anglican at heart than Cromwell was: he was a Calvinistic Presbyterian. The Bishops, who were his nominees, were mostly Latitudinarians, and were not trusted by the clergy. Hence the bitter disputes in Con-

[1] "Have you not for many years heard the clergy preach up the Divine right and indefeasible authority of kings, together with passive obedience, as the chief distinguishing doctrines whereby their Church approved itself apostolic beyond all Churches? Nay, were not the doctrines of loyalty to the king insisted upon more than faith in Christ? And yet, when their particular interest required it, their doctrine of non-resistance was qualified by non-assistance—the whole stream of loyalty was turned from the king to the Church; the indefeasible right was superseded by a miraculous conquest without blood; the oath of allegiance to the Divinely rightful King James has its force allayed by another oath of the same importance to the *de facto* King William" (*An Account of the Growth of Deism in England*, 1696, p. 8).

vocation towards the end of the reign (Lathbury, pp. 53 ff.).

Within a short time of his accession William had the appointment of both the Archbishops and of thirteen other Bishops. The first appointment that he made, that of Gilbert Burnet to the see of Salisbury, was very unpopular.[1] But Burnet quickly justified it by excellent work in a very neglected diocese, by kindness to Nonjurors,[2] by opposing the appointment of laymen to serve on the Commission for Convocation, and by contending in Parliament for a more generous treatment of the clergy. The son of a liberal-minded Presbyterian father, and enjoying for twenty-one years the closest intimacy with the saintly Leighton, Burnet was throughout his influential career a robust upholder of Broad Church views both in religion and politics. He loved controversy, but he was free from bitterness; and he loved managing, but he did not stoop to intrigue. Lord Hailes thought him "a man of the most surprising imprudence," which perhaps meant that Burnet was very fond of getting hold of a secret, and was quite unable to keep one. He has been much abused, but chiefly by those who

[1] See Dryden's attacks on Burnet, in the second part of *Absalom and Achitophel* (396 ff.) under the name of Balak, and the much more elaborate one under the name of the Buzzard in *The Hind and the Panther* (iii. 1121 ff.). Swift also was very bitter.

[2] Burnet paid the ejected vicar of a parish in his diocese the amount of the income which he had lost, out of his own pocket, for the remainder of his life.

hated his politics; and historical facts are better testimony than interested vituperation. It is possible to condemn some things that he did; but it is still more possible to find a great deal to admire: and even those who dislike him most may admit that he was one who, both in Church and State, always meant well.[1]

It was mainly in accordance with Burnet's advice that the sees of the deprived Bishops were filled up, and he probably had much influence in other episcopal appointments. He tells us that they were excellent, and we can certainly admit this with regard to some of them. Men like Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Patrick were ornaments to any Church; and Cumberland, Hough, and Sharp were also good appointments. All of them were moderate-minded men, whose influence made for peace and toleration; while some of them, as we have seen, were in favour of large measures of comprehension. On the whole, we may be thankful that the methods of comprehension which some of them were willing to adopt, or even to advocate, were not accepted. Here again, as at the Restoration, the House of Commons was more conservative and less tolerant than the Lords;[2] and measures of comprehension, which

[1] Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, i. pp. 80, 81. Burnet states that he originated the plan of devoting annates, or first fruits and tenths of benefices, to augmenting poor livings. He urged this on William III., who was willing; but Sunderland was an obstacle. In the next reign he was successful, and "Queen Anne's Bounty" was founded.

[2] To us this seems a strange fact, but at that time it was

easily passed the Lords, were strongly opposed in the House of Commons, and still more strongly in the Lower House of Convocation.

It was mentioned above that Burnet opposed the appointment of laymen to serve on the Commission for Convocation.[1] This Commission was charged "to prepare such alterations and amendments of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, and to consider of other such matters, as may most conduce to the good order, edification, and unity of the Church of England." The report of this Commission was to be presented to Convocation, which was to adopt such recommendations as it approved. After much disputing, none of the recommendations were approved; and we can contemplate their rejection without regret.[2] Among other things, the use of

quite natural that the Peers should be more liberal than the squires and other country members in the Commons. The Lords lived much more in the world, were in touch with leading statesmen, and had far more political information than could be found in the weekly newspaper, on which those who lived far away from London had to depend.

[1] There were ten Bishops; Lamplugh (York), Compton (London), New (Winchester), Lloyd (St. Asaph), Sprat (Rochester), Smith (Carlisle), Trelawney (Exeter), Burnet (Salisbury), Humphreys (Bangor), and Stratford (Chester); and twenty priests, including Beveridge, Patrick, Sharp, Stillingfleet, Tenison, and Tillotson. Burnet remarks that much fairness was shown in the appointments.

[2] "The question comes to be this—cannot we better deal with diverging tendencies which we object to, which we hope to overcome, and which we want to put straight, by retaining them within the system of the Church, and thereby subjecting

the surplice was to be made optional, the consecration of the elements for Holy Communion was to be allowed to persons not in priest's Orders, and various changes were to be made in the wording of the Prayer-Book, the Collects in particular being enlarged in accordance with the ideas of the age as to what constituted "eloquence." From all this we have been spared. But there were some good suggestions. Monthly Communion, in addition to Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and "some Lord's day soon after harvest": so that here we have an early proposal for harvest festivals, which was not realized for another hundred and fifty years. And an explanatory note to obviate difficulties was appended to the Athanasian Creed.

It was about this time, or a little later, that the terms "High Church" and "Low Church" came into common use, in the first instance among members of Parliament and other laymen. The High Church

them to the growing spiritual experience of the whole body?" (Creighton, *Life and Letters*, ii. p. 429). Had the recommendations of the Commission been carried out, a secession far larger than that of the Nonjurors would probably have been the result. No less than five hundred and ninety-eight changes were proposed. The document containing them was left in Tenison's hands, and for a long time it could not be found. It reappeared in 1727, and was placed in the Lambeth Library. It now forms a Blue Book under the title, *A Return to an Address of the House of Commons*, March 14, 1854, and ordered by the House to be printed, June 2, 1854. Burnet regarded the refusal of the Lower House to accept the proposed changes as providential: it prevented a grievous schism. See Lathbury, *History of Convocation*, chap. xi.

were for enforcing all laws which were still in existence against Dissenters, and they stigmatized as "Low Church" those who were for moderation. "Latitudinarian" was a wider term than "Low Church." While the latter was sometimes reserved for those who had Puritan sympathies, "Latitudinarian" included both the Puritans and those who were in favour of concession and comprehension. The Bishops were mostly regarded as Latitudinarian or Low, while the large majority of the clergy were High.

With regard to the Latitudinarian Churchmen of that time, it must be remembered, that, whatever we may think of schemes for comprehension, toleration on a large scale had become a political necessity. In order to understand this, we must glance at ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland.

The English Bishops, whether or no they swore allegiance to William, at least refrained from declaring against him. The Scottish Bishops declared against him without hesitation. They taught that loyalty to James was a religious duty; "might God smite his enemies with shame." James had done a good deal towards protecting Episcopacy in Scotland; and the Scotch Episcopate adhered to him unconditionally.[1] After William had been

[1] "William III. found Scotland a difficult problem. Horace Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann, 6th September 1745: "I think of what King William said to Duke Hamilton, when he was extolling Scotland, 'My Lord, I only wish it was a hundred thousand miles off, and that you was king of it!'" This was written when the Young Pretender was marching to Prestonpans.

proclaimed in England, Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, was presented to him. "I hope," said William, "that you will be on my side." "Sir," replied Rose, "so far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me."[1] William turned away without saying a word; and Burnet let it be known far and wide that, if the Episcopalians opposed William in Scotland, he would throw himself on the support of the Presbyterians. In the Scottish Convention the Presbyterians had the majority, and they determined to make their religion supreme. They demanded the abolition of Episcopacy among smaller matters; and on these conditions were willing to accept William and Mary. William closed with the offer. A Scottish deputation formally presented the Crown at Whitehall, 11th May, and rehearsed the conditions on which it had been accepted. When a clause was read binding the King and Queen to extirpate heretics, William interposed. "It was his purpose to use only evangelical means; he would never become a persecutor." He was assured that the clause meant no more than this; and then he and the Queen swore to observe the conditions, and they became King and Queen of Presbyterian Scotland as well of Episcopalian England.

The Stuarts had tried to make both countries

[1] Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors*, p. 417, from Rose's letter, At that time about half the population of Scotland seems to have been Presbyterian. Writers on each side claim a majority. If the Bishops had accepted him, William would not have established Presbyterianism. He was anxious not to disturb the Episcopalian clergy who did not disturb his government.

Episcopalian: Cromwell had tried to make both countries Presbyterian: and both attempts had failed. In each country that form of religion which was specially at home there, had in the end prevailed. Now that William and Mary were sovereigns of an Episcopalian Establishment in England and a Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland, it was intolerable that either Episcopalians or Presbyterians should be under any disabilities in any part of the realm. Hence, as already stated, a large measure of toleration became a political necessity; and under William of Orange, who had been the great Protestant leader on the Continent, England became once more the recognized home of religious liberty for all who were not Papists.

William and Mary continued to appoint Latitudinarian Bishops;[1] but private patrons for the most part appointed High Church incumbents; and this produced a chasm between Bishops and their clergy, which was a serious disadvantage to the Church.[2]

[1] During the Queen's lifetime, William largely left the selection to her. After her death he asked a board of six Bishops to advise him as to episcopal appointments. The six were Tenison, Sharp, Burnet, Stillingfleet, Patrick, and Lloyd of St. Asaph's. Such a board, of course, would recommend men of their own views; so that Latitudinarians continued to be appointed, as before. See Burnet, *Own Time*, 1662.

[2] We may compare that which exists in the Greek Church at the present time, owing to the fact that the parochial clergy are necessarily married, while the Bishops are necessarily monks. Unless his wife dies, no parochial clergyman can become a Bishop: consequently very few Bishops have had experience of parish work.

There was a strong prejudice against all the Bishops who had accepted the sees vacated by the deprivation of the Nonjurors. The nomination of Tillotson to the Primacy in 1691 was as unwelcome to the majority of his clergy as it was to himself. He was in favour of concessions to Nonconformists, which his clergy regarded as fatal. He allowed communicants to receive sitting; and he objected to the Athanasian Creed. His High Church opponents accused him of being a Unitarian, or even an atheist. His parents, they said, were Anabaptists, and he himself had never been baptized. They called him "undipped John." [1] He was much displeased at the rejection by Convocation of the Recommendations of the Commission; and by repeated prorogations he prevented Convocation for ten years from meeting again. It was during this period of silence that the controversy betweed Atterbury and Wake respecting the rights of Convocation took place. Atterbury contended that Convocation had the constitutional right to meet and pass measures, which required nothing more than the royal assent to make them legally binding. Wake contended for the Erastian doctrine of State control of ecclesiastical synods. Warburton summed up the result somewhat neatly: "Atterbury goes upon *principles*, and all that Wake and Kennett could possibly oppose are *precedents*." Trelawney, Bishop of Exeter, made Atterbury Archdeacon of Totnes and Prebendary of Exeter

[1] The register of his baptism still exists at the parish church of St. John the Baptist, Halifax, 10th October 1630.

Cathedral, in recognition, as Atterbury said, of his "honest endeavours to retrieve the synodical rights of the clergy." But, though Atterbury was regarded as victorious, yet Wake's final book (1703) has become the recognized authority on the subject.

Archbishop Tillotson died 22nd November 1694. He was succeeded by Tenison, who, at the Queen's suggestion, had been nominated Bishop of Lincoln in 1691. Soon after he was nominated to Canterbury, Queen Mary died (28th December), and he attended her on her deathbed.[1] He is said to have been instrumental in bringing about a reconciliation between William and the Princess Anne. He rebuked the King for his misconduct with Elizabeth Villiers, and the King had a great regard for him. But he was far from popular with the High Church clergy.

The death of Queen Mary was a great blow to her husband; and the shock was communicated to the country. Of late years William and Mary had lived very happily together, which had not always been the case;[2] and now the nation saw that, beyond all

[1] Tenison preached her funeral sermon, in which he praised her highly. Ken rebuked him for saying nothing about her unfilial behaviour to her father. William had so high an opinion of Tenison that in 1695 he revived the custom of giving great civil appointments to Bishops, and made him one of the Lords Justices who were to administer affairs during the King's absence on the Continent.

[2] When she knew that her malady was smallpox and likely to be fatal, she got up and spent hours at her writing-table, destroying letters which might lead others to see her husband in an unfavourable light (Mrs. A. Colville, *Duchess Sarah*, p. 106).

question, it was being ruled by a foreigner. This had really been the case from the accession; for, though Mary had the rights of joint sovereign, her share of the government of the country had been little more than nominal.[1] But now that she was dead, her foreign husband was left sole sovereign. This was expressly provided for in the *Act of Settlement*, and it was not thought necessary even to dissolve Parliament on account of the death of the Queen.

William owed his Crown to his wife. It was not only the fact, that, but for her, he would not have been asked to ascend the throne; but for her, he would hardly have retained it. His immense usefulness to the nation no doubt did a great deal towards keeping him on the throne; but the nation's affection for his wife perhaps did at least as much.[2] This was made evident, when conspiracies against him broke out afresh at her death. Although there had been no executions, no banishments, no confiscations of property, no persecution of any religious bodies, the nation was not grateful, not even contented.[3] William III., with all his laborious recti-

William told Burnet that he had never known in her any fault; no one but he knew her perfections.

[1] This was in accordance with her own wish. Only when her husband was out of England did she take the management of affairs into her own hands, and she then showed that she had the necessary ability.

[2] See Prior's *Ode, Presented to the King*, on the death of Queen Mary. She is now in heaven, and from her glory angels conjecture what her husband must be like. "Half of thee is deified before thy death."

[3] Richard Blackmore's *King Arthur*, an epic poem in which

tude, was less popular than Charles II. And it is this which makes the reign of William III. one of the most disappointing in English history. There was so much that was satisfactory, and yet people were not satisfied. The truth is, that both in Church and State the generation of William and Mary was labouring more for posterity than for themselves. Good seed was being sown, and serious mistakes were at times being made; but it was a future generation that reaped the benefit of both.

William of Orange is one of the best known figures of modern history. Most of those who at times read history have seen his portrait, and remember something of that spare figure, with its pinched face, its aquiline nose, its determined mouth, and its grave and almost gloomy expression.[1] He was one of those men who seem never to have been young. While quite a boy he was thrown back upon his own

William's victories in his struggle with Louis XIV. are allegorized, is no evidence of William's popularity: nor is the praise of the King in the *Dispensary*, in which Samuel Garth laughs at *King Arthur*. Versifiers are often courtiers, and Blackmore was made a knight. See Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets*. As Gresset says in *Le Lutrin Vivant* (1734), "Le cri d'un peuple heureux est la seule éloquence, Qui sçait parler des Rois."

[1] Unlike as they were in most respects, William III. resembled James II. in having none of the gaiety which distinguished Charles II. Indeed, they had hardly any sense of humour. James II. is credited with only one approach to a joke. When in 1688 he was daily or hourly receiving news that this or that person had gone over to William, his son-in-law, George of Denmark, always greeted the tidings with "Est-il possible?" At last James was informed that Prince George had joined the Dutchman. "Ah," said James, "Has *Est-il possible* gone too?"

self-sufficiency; for at fifteen he was deprived by a jealous government of all those about him in whom he had been accustomed to confide. The result was an early moral maturity of a surprising type. He had self-reliance enough to stand the blow; but it drove back his sympathies, and made him at one-and-twenty one of the most self-contained and reserved princes in Europe. This youthful Tiberius had already acquired a stoical control over his words and features, so that few could tell from his replies or looks what he really thought or felt about all that was going on around him. Of the children of Charles I., two were serious, and two were foolish. The two foolish ones lived and reigned; the two earnest ones, the Duke of Gloucester and William's mother, died young. When William visited England in 1673, his likeness to his mother was remarked; and it was a likeness of character as well as of face. In marked contrast to his two uncles, Charles and James, he was a Protestant of the stern Calvinistic type, with a firm belief in the doctrine of predestination, in which he is said to have found great comfort. To his natural gravity and gloomy religious convictions, both of which made him disinclined to gaiety, we must add a state of almost permanent ill-health. His early struggles, against the pressure of internal factions in Holland and the aggressiveness of Louis XIV., all tended to intensify the seriousness of his character and the strength of his will. His relations with his new subjects in England did not tend to bring out the

sympathies which had been checked by his early experiences at home. His own bearing did not invite confidence; and, when the first enthusiasm with which he was greeted had passed away, an attitude of mutual coldness remained. As the saviour of the laws and religion of England he was welcomed; as the maintainer of them he was neither liked nor trusted. This was sad, but it was inevitable. He was a foreigner, spoke English as a foreigner, and had foreigners about him. Besides this, there was natural prejudice against the man who had risen by the downfall of his own father-in-law and uncle.[1] He seemed to have seized an inheritance before the owner of it was dead. He had some bitter enemies, and many lukewarm friends. The latter wished him to win, but they were by no means sure that he would. The Stuart cause might after all come to the top, and they did not wish to commit themselves too deeply by vigorous support of William. But his enemies *had* committed themselves; and they worked hard to overthrow him, for their whole

[1] This appears in Dryden's epigram:

"Old Jacob, in his wondrous mood
To please the wise beholders,
Has placed old Nassau's hook-nosed head
On poor Æneas' shoulders.
To make the parallel hold tack,
Methinks there's something lacking;
One took his father pick-a-back,
The other sent his packing."

Jacob Tonson, the great publisher, without consulting Dryden, got an artist to illustrate Dryden's translation of the *Æneid* with pictures in which Æneas was made to resemble William III.

hope lay in his failure. And, besides half-hearted friends and uncompromising enemies, there were pitiful traitors, who, while professing to join him, were always ready to do him a secret ill-turn, in order to claim reward for it, in case of a Stuart Restoration. In such surroundings, how could William win the affection of the subjects whom he benefited? He was cold, and his people felt his coldness. Neither of them had a fair chance of understanding the true feelings of the other. Neither of them had a fair chance of showing their own better side to the other.

We need some definition of greatness before we can decide whether William III. ought to be reckoned among really great men. He was best as a commander in the field; but, competent as he was in all three capacities, neither as king, nor as statesman, nor as general, was he quite first-rate. He was one of those men who produce results far greater than themselves. The great question of his day was how to prevent the ever-increasing power of France from destroying the independence of the rest of the world. To beat back this menacing monarchy was the work of William's life: and he accomplished it in face of enormous difficulties. France had wealth, great intellectual power, a strong internal government, headed by a king excellently fitted to express the national policy. But William, with his strong predestinarian views, believed that it was the destined duty of his life to withstand the domination of this great Roman

Catholic power that was persecuting Protestants and threatening Europe. This work must be carried through, whatever the chances of success might appear to be. In opposition to the selfish glorification of France, William preached and fought for the interests and independence of the other States in Europe. In opposition to Papal exclusiveness and persecution, he contended for the principle of religious toleration. And, both as a matter of belief and of policy, he upheld Protestantism of all kinds against Romanism. In conducting this vast campaign of resistance to France, his success in uniting heterogeneous elements is very remarkable. He induced not only Emperors and Kings to join with Republics, but also Roman Catholic powers[1] to join with Protestant powers, in order to oppose with success the compact, concentrated, and victorious power of France.[2] This is the great historic achievement of William III., and it was for the sake of accomplishing it that he valued his position as King of England. The Crown in itself had no great attraction for him; but the possession of it enabled him to prevent a Roman Catholic from regaining it;

[1] The Spanish Ambassador at the Hague is said to have ordered Masses in his chapel for William's success.

[2] "As a diplomatist, the chief of a motley coalition full of jealousy, self-seeking, and fractiousness, including the cumbrous majesty of the empire and the imbecile pride of Spain, William was superb. . . . The treaty of Ryswick, following the taking of Namur, was on the whole, thanks to William's diplomatic force and wisdom, a treaty of peace with honour" (Goldwin Smith, *The United Kingdom*, ii. pp. 119, 120).

and it also enabled him to contend with better chance of success against Roman Catholic France. When he passed away, 8th March 1702, what Burke afterwards said of him was eminently true: "The man was dead, but the Grand Alliance survived in which King William lived and reigned."

In Europe he succeeded in uniting divergent forces against a common enemy. Just so far as there was a common enemy he succeeded in uniting divergent forces in England. When he first came to the rescue, the danger of a restoration of James II. made Churchmen and Dissenters, Whigs and Tories, unite in supporting him. Just at the end of his reign, when James II. died and Louis XIV., with blind and criminal folly, acknowledged the son of James as King of England, the large majority of Englishmen once more united in enthusiastic support of William. But in between these two extreme points he was less successful. It is true that under him the discordant tendencies which had produced the Rebellion and the Commonwealth found a more harmonious and legitimate direction in developing, instead of destroying, the national Constitution. It was discovered that the national desire for freedom, which had brought about the Rebellion, and the historic forms of government, which had been brought back by the Restoration, were not so radically irreconcilable as had been supposed; and perhaps William helped the discovery and acted upon it. But he did not succeed in reconciling the Whigs with the Tories, or the Church of England with the Dissenters. With regard to the

latter, he, perhaps, was not sufficiently acquainted with the history of the Church of England to act with full wisdom or with full success. He did not see that there was any essential difference between the Church of England and Protestant Churches on the Continent; and he naturally thought that, if the English Church could be made more like the Protestant bodies of Holland and Germany, the English Dissenters would cease to dissent, and harmony would be restored. As we have seen, he failed in this policy, partly because the Lower Houses of Parliament and of Convocation were much more ready to enforce penalties than to make concessions, and partly because no concessions that a loyal Churchman could consistently have made would have satisfied the main body of Dissenters. To heal a schism which has gone on in bitterness for many years is a far more difficult task than to prevent a schism from taking place. Concessions which would suffice to induce a dissatisfied minority from seceding, by no means suffice, after years of estrangement, to induce them to return. It would have been easy greatly to reduce the numbers of the ministers who went out in 1662. It would have been easy altogether to prevent the exodus of the Nonjurors in 1690. And we may reasonably lament that there was not a greater willingness in high places to make the necessary concessions. But it is less easy to lament that William and Tillotson did not succeed in inducing Convocation to make such changes in the formularies of the Church of England as would

have induced the Dissenters to re-enter it. Quite as many would have gone out at one door as would have come in at the other. What the Church of England does owe to William III. is that he did not attempt to carry out in a high-handed way the changes which he desired; having failed to obtain them by constitutional means, he did not endeavour to enforce them by means that were unconstitutional. Secondly, it owes him gratitude, because, when he was unable to accomplish his own wishes, he did not refuse to help in any other way. He carried a measure of toleration, which, however imperfect from the point of view of true religious liberty, was a great advance upon the miserable system of mutual persecution which had prevailed for so many years. We have, perhaps, ceased to look at William III. through Whig spectacles, but, as Mr. Traill says, "after we have thrown aside the magnifying glass of Whiggism, the objects which it was used to exaggerate still fill the eye. His character was stern, forbidding, unamiable, contemptuously generous, as little fitted to attract love as it was assured of commanding respect; but it bears in every lineament the unmistakable stamp of greatness" (*William the Third*, by H. D. Traill, 1888). His faults were neither forgotten nor forgiven by his own generation, and his merits could not be measured till long afterwards.[1] He lived without being liked, and he "departed without being desired."

[1] In the next generation they were scarcely recognized. Dr. Johnson "never spoke of King William but in terms of reproach,

and, in his opinion of him seemed to adopt all the prejudices of Jacobite bigotry and rancour" (*Johnsoniana*, No. 265). Defoe saw the change during William's lifetime.

"William, the great successor of Nassau,
Their prayers heard, and their oppressions saw:
He saw and saved them. God and him they praised;
To this their thanks, to that their trophies raised.
But glutted with their own felicities,
They soon their new deliverer despise.
Say all their prayers back; their joy disown;
Unsing their thanks, and pull their trophies down.
Their harps of praise are on the willows hung,
For Englishmen are ne'er contented long."

The True-Born Englishman, Jan. 1701.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

1649. Execution of Charles I., 30th January.
Charles II. proclaimed in Edinburgh, 5th February.
Act for abolishing the Kingly Office, 17th March.
Act for abolishing the House of Peers, 19th March.
Act declaring the People of England to be a Commonwealth, 19th May.
Act against the Licentiousness of the Press, 20th September.
Charles II. lands in Jersey and is proclaimed King, October.
Cromwell in Ireland, 15th of August to December.
Milton's *Eikonoklastes.*

1650. Cromwell returns to the House of Commons, 4th June.
Cromwell enters Scotland, 22nd July.
Battle of Dunbar, 3rd September.
Execution of Thomas Harrison, Jesuit priest, at Lancaster.
Birth of William III., 4th November.
Jeremy Taylor's *Life of Christ* and *Holy Living.*
Baxter's *Saints' Rest.*
Hobbes's *Human Nature.*

1651. Execution of Peter Wright, Jesuit priest, at Tyburn, 19th May.
Report on converting Duresme College to a College "for all the Sciences of Literature," 18th June.
Battle of Worcester, 3rd September.
Hobbes's *Leviathan.*

1652. Committee to consider what Cathedrals shall be pulled down, 9th July.

1653. Cromwell expels the Rump Parliament, 20th April.
Nominated Assembly (Barebone's Parliament), 4th July.
The High Court of Chancery to be taken away, 5th August.
The Assembly dissolves itself, 11th December.
Cromwell made Protector by the Instrument, 16th December.
Walton's *Compleat Angler*.

1654. First Protectorate Parliament, 3rd September.
Committee on the stopping of Diurnals and News Books, 22nd September.
Execution of Southworth for being a Romish priest.
Milton's *Second Defence of the English People*.

1655. Parliament dissolved, 22nd January.
Government by Major-Generals, August.
Use of the Prayer-Book forbidden, 24th November.
Jeremy Taylor's *Golden Grove* and *Unum Necessarium*.
Fuller's *Church History of Britain*.

1656. Death of Archbishop Ussher, 21st March.
Second Protectorate Parliament, 17th September.
Committee to regulate the Press, 20th October.
James Naylor sentenced, 17th December.
First part of the sentence carried out, 18th December.
Cromwell writes to the Speaker about Naylor, 25th December.
Second part of the sentence carried out, 27th December.
James Harrington's *Oceana*.

1657. Parliament proposes to make Cromwell King, 23rd Feb.
Cromwell to name his successor, 5th March.
Blake's victory at Santa Cruz, 20th April.
Cromwell refuses the title of King, 12th May.
The Humble Petition and Advice, 25th May.
Cromwell again installed as Protector, 26th June.
The Protector nominates 63 to form an Upper House, 10th December.

1658. Parliament dissolved, 4th February.
Dunkirk surrendered to the English, 25th June.
Death of Oliver Cromwell, 3rd September.
Richard Cromwell proclaimed Lord Protector, 3rd September.

1659. Parliament meets, 27th January.
Parliament recognizes Richard as Protector, 14th February.
Parliament dissolved, 22nd April.
Richard ceases to be Protector.
The Long Parliament restored, 7th May.
John Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed.*
Stillingfleet's *Irenicum.*

1660. The Solemn League and Covenant to be set up in every Church, 5th March.
Parliament dissolved, 16th March.
Convention Parliament meets, 25th April.
Declaration of Breda received, 1st May.
Charles II. proclaimed King, 8th May.
Charles II. enters London, 29th May.
Act of Indemnity, 29th August.
Marriage of James, Duke of York, to Anne Hyde, 3rd September.
Royal Declaration on Ecclesiastical Affairs, 25th October.
Parliament refuses to ratify the Declaration, 28th November.
Consecrations of Griffith, Henchman, Morley, Sanderson, and Sheldon, 28th October.
Consecration of Cosin, 2nd December.
Convention Parliament dissolved, 29th December.
Jeremy Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium.*
John Bunyan's *Grace Abounding.*

1661. Consecrations of Gauden and Reynolds, 6th January.
Consecration of Jeremy Taylor, 27th January.
Savoy Conference meets, 15th April.
Coronation of Charles II., 23rd April.
Pensioners' Long Parliament (1661–79) meets, 8th May.
Corporation Act passed, May.
Death of Thomas Fuller, 16th August.
Bishops attend the Upper House, 20th November.
Revision of the Prayer-Book, 21st November to 20th December.
Cowley's *Discourse concerning Oliver Cromwell.*

1662. Birth of Richard Bentley, 27th January.
Death of Bishop Brian Duppa, 16th March.
Royal Society founded, 22nd April.

1662. Birth of Queen Mary II., 30th April.
Uniformity Act passed, 19th May.
Marriage of Charles II. to Katharine of Braganza, 20th May.
Puritan clergy expelled, 24th August.
Birth of Francis Atterbury.
First Declaration of Indulgence, 26th December.
1663. Death of Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, 4th June.
Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, August.
1664. First *Conventicle Act.*
The Great Plague in London began in December.
1665. Birth of Queen Anne, 6th February.
Churches dedicated to King Charles the Martyr at Falmouth and Plymouth.
Five Mile Act passed at Oxford, 30th October.
Death of Bishop John Earle at Oxford, 17th November.
1666. Great Fire of London, 2nd to 6th September.
1667. The Dutch in the Medway, 11th to 29th June.
Peace of Breda, 21st July.
Death of Abraham Cowley, 28th July.
Death of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, 13th August.
Clarendon leaves England, 29th November.
Birth of Jonathan Swift, 30th November.
The Cabal Ministry (1667–73) reverses Clarendon's policy.
Milton's *Paradise Lost.*
1668. Buckingham's duel with Lord Shrewsbury, 21st January.
Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, January.
Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 2nd May.
Birth of Joseph Bingham, September.
1669. Secret proposals to reconcile England to the Church of Rome.
1670. Birth of William Congreve, January or February.
Secret Treaty of Dover, 20th May.
Visit of William of Orange to England, October.
Second *Conventicle Act.*
1671. Death of Bishop John Cosin, 15th January.
Death of Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, 31st March.
Milton's *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes.*
1672. Second Declaration of Indulgence, 15th March.

1672. Birth of Richard Steele, March.
Birth of Joseph Addison, 1st May.
John Pearson's *Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii.*
1673. Pearson, Bishop of Chester, 9th February.
Test Act passed, March.
Sir T. Osborne (Danby) Prime Minister, June.
Marriage of James to Mary of Modena, 30th September.
1674. Peace of Westminster, 9th February.
Death of Clarendon at Rouen, 9th December.
Cressy's *Epistle Apologetical to a Person of Honour.*
1675. Bishop Croft's *The Naked Truth.*
1676. Secret treaty between Charles II. and Louis XIV., 17th February.
Birth of Robert Walpole, 26th August.
1677. Death of Isaac Barrow.
Marriage of William of Orange to Mary of York, 4th November.
Death of Archbishop Sheldon, 9th November.
1678. Consecration of Archbishop Sancroft, 27th January.
The Popish Plot.
Act to prevent Romanists sitting in Parliament, November.
Danby impeached, 21st December.
Walton completed the five *Lives.*
Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Part I.
1679. The Pensioners' Long Parliament dissolved, 24th January.
Innocent XI. condemns Jesuit Casuistry, 2nd March.
New Parliament meets, 6th March.
Danby sent to the Tower, 10th April (released 1684).
Habeas Corpus Act, 27th May.
Parliament dissolved, 12th July.
New Parliament at once prorogued, 17th October.
Death of Thomas Hobbes, 4th December.
Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I.
1680. Death of Denzil Holles, 17th February.
Exclusion Bill passes the Commons, 11th November.
Exclusion Bill thrown out in the Lords, 15th November.
Execution of Lord Stafford, 29th December.
Filmer's *Patriarcha.*
Bunyan's *Life and Death of Mr. Badman.*

1681. Parliament dissolved, 18th January.
New Parliament at Oxford, 21st to 28th March.
Charles II. declares his attachment to Protestantism.
Archbishop Plunket hanged, drawn, and quartered, 1st July.
William of Orange again visits England, July.
Shaftesbury sent to the Tower, July.
Shaftesbury acquitted, 24th November.
Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, November.
Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. II.
Stillingfleet's *Unreasonableness of Separation.*
Barlow's *Brutum Fulmen.*

1682. Whitby's *Protestant Reconciler.*
Bunyan's *Holy War.*
Dryden's *The Medal*, March; *MacFlecknoe*, October; *Religio Laici*, November.

1683. Death of Shaftesbury, 21st January.
Rye House Plot, April.
Execution of Lord Russell, 21st July.
Hobbes's *Leviathan* burned at Oxford, 21st July.
Birth of George II., 30th October.
Execution of Algernon Sidney, 7th December.
Death of Izaak Walton, 15th December.

1684. Danby released from the Tower, February.
Duke of York made Lord High Admiral, May.
Death of Bishop Peter Gunning, 6th July.
Death of Bishop George Morley, 29th October.
Bunyan completed the *Pilgrim's Progress.*

1685. Consecration of Ken, Bath and Wells, 25th January.
Death of Charles II., 6th February.
Birth of George Berkeley, 12th March.
Coronation of James II., 23rd April.
First Parliament meets, 19th May.
Attainder of the Duke of Monmouth, 15th June.
Battle of Sedgemoor, 6th July.
Alice Lisle beheaded at Winchester, 2nd September.
Elizabeth Gaunt burned at Tyburn, 23rd October.
Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, October.
Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol, November.
Parliament prorogued, 20th November.

1686. Continual prorogations: 10th February, 10th May, 22nd November.
Persecution of the Waldenses by Amadeus II. of Savoy.
Death of Bishop John Pearson, 16th July.
Birth of William Law.
1687. Parliament prorogued, 15th February, 20th March, 28th April.
Declaration for Liberty of Conscience issued, 4th April.
Death of the Duke of Buckingham, 16th April.
Parliament dissolved, 2nd July.
Expulsion of the Fellows of Magdalen.
Newton's *Principia.*
1688. Order that the Declaration be read in all Churches, 4th May.
Six Bishops protest, 18th May.
Birth of Alexander Pope, 21st May.
Seven Bishops sent to the Tower, 8th June.
An heir to the Crown born, 10th June.
The seven Bishops acquitted, 30th June.
Death of John Bunyan, 31st August.
James II. fled from Whitehall, 11th December.
James II. landed at Ambleteuse, 25th December.
1689. Death of Bishop Seth Ward, 6th January.
Declaration of Rights, 13th February.
James II. landed at Kinsale, 22nd March.
Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, 31st March.
Coronation of William and Mary, 11th April.
Death of Judge Jeffreys in the Tower, 18th April.
Birth of Samuel Richardson.
Toleration Act passed, 24th May.
Battle of Killiecrankie, 27th July.
Death of Bishop John Lake, 30th August.
Bill of Rights, December.
Locke's *First Letter on Toleration.*
1690. Dissolution of Parliament, 27th January.
Deprivation the Nonjurors, 1st February.
Act of Grace, 20th May.
Battle of the Boyne, 1st July.
James II. landed at Brest, 23rd July.
Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding.*
Locke's *Second Letter on Toleration.*

1691. Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, 31st May.
Death of Richard Baxter, 8th December.
Death of the Hon Robert Boyle, 30th December.
1692. Marlborough deprived of his offices, 10th January.
Royal Proclamation against Profanity and Vice, 21st January.
Massacre of Glencoe, 13th February.
Birth of Joseph Butler, 18th May.
Battle off La Hogue, 19th May.
Locke's *Third Letter on Toleration.*
1693. Origin of the National Debt, 20th January.
Death of Archbishop Sancroft, 24th November.
Sherlock's *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity.*
1694. Secret consecration of Hickes and Wagstaffe, 24th February.
Death of Archbishop Tillotson, 22nd November.
Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Triennial Act passed, December.
Death of Queen Mary, 28th December.
1695. The King's Injunctions, 15th February.
Death of John Kettlewell, 12th April.
New Whig Parliament meets, 22nd November.
Assassination Plot discovered.
Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity.*
1696. Toland's *Christianity not Mysterious.*
1697. Execution of Sir John Fenwick, 28th January.
Treaty of Ryswick, 10th September.
1698. S.P.C.K. founded by Dr. Bray and others, 8th March.
Death of Bishop Thomas White, 30th May.
New Tory Parliament, 6th December.
1699. Burnet's *Exposition of the XXXIX Articles.*
1700. Death of Dryden, 1st May.
Death of George, Duke of Gloucester, 29th July.
Death of Innocent XII., 27th September.
Death of Bishop Francis Turner, 2nd November.
Death of Charles II. of Spain, November.
Atterbury *v.* Wake respecting Convocation (1700–1703).
1701. Convocation meets for business, 10th February.
The Lower House censures Burnet's *Articles*, 30th May.
Charter of the S.P.G., 16th June.

1701. Death of James II., 6th September.
Louis XIV. acknowledges the Pretender, 16th September.
1702. Death of William III., 8th March.
First daily paper, *Daily Courant*, 11th March.
Coronation of Anne, 23rd May.
War declared against France, 4th May.

APPENDIX.

THE DESPOTISM AND FANATICISM OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

It was pointed out in the first lecture (p. 35) that none of Cromwell's despotic attempts at framing a Constitution for the government of England was accepted by the people. Many were willing to submit to them, and even to support him in maintaining them, because they believed that he, and perhaps he alone, stood between them and anarchy; and those who were unwilling to submit were made to do so by military force. But very few, excepting the army, and by no means all of them, accepted his government with full approval. He had told the fragment of the Long Parliament, when he contemptuously turned them out in April 1653, that "the Nation loathed their sitting." [1] That was

[1] There is no necessary contradiction between his saying to the expelled members, "It is you that have forced me to this," and his telling the Hundred Officers, 27th February 1657, that it was the army that had compelled him to dissolve the Long Parliament. The conduct of the Long Parliament exasperated the army, including Cromwell, and the army urged their com-

true; but it loathed his subsequent experiments in government just as much. The reign of the Saints, which followed the expulsion of the Rump, was an attempt to build up a Commonwealth on the literal words of Scripture; and it was a huge failure. One at times wonders whether Cromwell had any definite end in view, or was a mere opportunist, living from hand to mouth. He himself said that "he goes farthest who knows not where he is going," which would seem to imply that he regarded blind improvidence as the guiding principle of a statesman. When he put an end to the Long Parliament in 1653, all English institutions had been levelled to the ground,—the Episcopal Church, the King, the Lords, and the Commons. Only the army remained, and that was not an English institution. When he died in 1658, he seemed to have found out that the old Constitution was not so bad after all; for he had set up an imitation of King, Lords, and Commons. It is difficult to believe that he had all along planned anything of the kind.

And we may safely dismiss the theory, which used to find favour in some quarters, that from the first he was scheming to place himself upon the throne of the King whom he had defeated and slain.[1] In

mander to turn the Parliament out. The army was nominally the servant of the Parliament; but, in reality, the Parliament was powerless without the support of the army. Through the army it had deposed and murdered the King; and through the army it was itself deposed.

[1] Out of regard to the republican temper of the army, which had fought to abolish monarchy, Cromwell unwillingly refused

one of his speeches he says: "I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man in those services to God and His people's interest, and to the Commonwealth"; and perhaps, in the main, this claim is just. He was a great Englishman, and he rendered his country many great services, sometimes by executing, sometimes by thwarting, the desires of his countrymen. His despotism was sometimes as oppressive and as defiant of law as the despotism of Charles I. But there was this great difference between the two. Charles ruled despotically in his own interest, and because he liked despotism. Cromwell ruled despotically in the interests of the nation, and because to cease to be despotic would have been to cease to rule. But Cromwell could be fanatical; and a great man who is a fanatic is to that extent a great man spoiled. In him "the destructive aims of Puritanism were most clearly revealed. He was intolerant of everything opposed to the highest and most spiritual religion, and of the forms which, as he thought, choked and hindered its development. With a strong arm he pronounced a distinct negative to everything persistently antago-

the title of "King." But, 26th June 1657, he went through a solemn ceremony in Westminster Hall, which may be called coronation without the crown. What did the republicans think of it? At the coronation of Napoleon, the republican General Augereau was asked whether anything was lacking to the magnificence of the pageant. "Nothing," was the reply, "except the half million of men who died to do away with all this." General Delmas is said to have made a similar reply to the First Consul after the great service in Nôtre Dame, Easter Day 1802, to celebrate the Concordat with Pius VII.

nistic to what he regarded as the interest of the people of God." [1] That is the attitude of fanaticism —to be intolerant of whatever is opposed to one's own ideas of what is right. All fanatics are morally and intellectually the worse for their fanaticism. They erect fancies into eternal truths, mistake their own will for God's will, and treat their personal foes as God's foes. We see these defects appearing from time to time in Cromwell: and it is impossible for us to know how far he was sincere in his declarations that he believed himself to be acting as God's instrument for the well-being of the nation. It is quite certain that he sometimes acted as the instrument of the army to the detriment of the nation, and also in direct opposition to the nation's wishes. The nation did not wish for the murder of the King; it did not wish for the prohibition of the Prayer-Book; and it did not wish for the utterly illegal tyranny of the Major-Generals. It is difficult to see that any of these things could have been for the good of the nation.

It is perhaps true that Cromwell desired to be conciliatory, and that he often adopted what he considered to be an inferior course, when it commended itself to others, rather than force on them what he considered to be the best course. But it is

[1] S. R. Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History*, p. 45. Dryden's aphorism, however, still remains true:

> "So hardly can usurpers manage well
> Those whom they first instructed to rebel."
> *Hind and Panther*, lines 517, 518.

remarkable how many of his old supporters were driven by him from public life, or even imprisoned, during the latter part of his career. Vane, one of his closest associates; Harrison, who had stuck to him all through the Civil War and at the dissolution of the Long Parliament; Hazlerigg, who guarded the border at the crisis of Dunbar; Okey, who had led the dragoons at Naseby and signed the warrant for the execution of the King; Overton, who had fought at Dunbar and been governor of Edinburgh, of Aberdeen, and of Hull; Lambert, who had taken the lead in making Cromwell Protector; and Cooper, one of his most trusted councillors,—were all of them either in prison or in disgrace.

This estrangement of old friends and colleagues was no doubt one cause of Cromwell's nepotism. He was obliged to fall back upon his own family; and the amount of promotion which they received is remarkable. But no doubt many of them deserved it. His son, Henry Cromwell, was Lord Deputy of Ireland. His son-in-law, Fleetwood, was Commander-in-chief in Ireland, member of the Council, Major-General of the eastern district, and member of Cromwell's House of Lords. John Claypole, another son-in-law, was Master of the Horse and one of Cromwell's Peers. John Desborough, his brother-in-law, was Commissioner of the Treasury and General of the Fleet. John Jones, another brother-in-law, was Governor of Anglesey and one of Cromwell's Peers. Valentine Walton, a third

brother-in-law, was Commissioner of the Navy and also for the Government of the Army. Sir William Lockhart, who married Cromwell's niece, was Ambassador in Paris and Governor of Dunkirk.

INDEX.

Act, Conventicle, 66, 88.
Corporation, 58, 62, 138.
Five Mile, 66, 68, 88.
Test, 68, 92, 100, 113, 138.
Toleration, 137, 138, 140.
of Indemnity, 57.
of Uniformity, 59, 62.
of Habeas Corpus, 92.
of Settlement, 134, 156.
Acton, Lord, 9, 35, 58, 121, 129.
Aikenhead, Thomas, 138.
Airy, O., 4, 77.
Alexander VIII., 131.
Anabaptists, 36, 53.
Andrewes, Bishop, 60.
Areopagitica, Milton's, 31, 141.
Assembly, the nominated, 22.
Athanasian Creed, 150, 154.
Atterbury, Francis, 154.
Atterbury, Lewis, 24.

Baker, Thomas, 24, 57, 145.
Bancroft, 12.
Baptists, 21, 22, 136.
Barebone's Parliament, 22.
Bates, William, 52, 53, 56.
Baxter, 36, 37, 52, 53, 56, 57, 59, 61, 114, 116.
Bear-baiting, 32.
Beard, C., 62.
Beza, 85.
Bill of Rights, 134.
Blackmore, Richard, 156.
Bloxham, 117.
Bogue and Bennett, 65.
Bond, Dennis, 36.
Bordeaux, Ambassador, 29.
Bossuet, 75, 140.
Boswell, 54.
Bowles, Edward, 53.
Bradshaw, 30, 46.
Bramhall, Bishop, 63.
Bramston, James, 92.
Breda, Declaration of, 43, 48, 53, 62.
Brown, Thomas, 132.
Brownrig, Bishop, 24.
Bruce, Thomas, 101.
Bull, George, 24.
Bunyan, John, 14.
Burghclere, Lady, 70.
Burke, 162.
Burnet, 37, 50, 56, 95, 97, 98, 101, 102, 104, 109, 117, 141, 147, 149, 152, 153.
Bushby, Dr., 106, 107.
Butler's *Hudibras*, 26, 36, 41, 63.

Cabal Ministry, 67, 69.
Calamy, 48, 52, 65, 109.
Calvin, 10, 85.
Carlyle, 19.
Cartwright, Thomas, 85.
Censorship of the Press, 31, 141.
Charles I., execution of, 3–5, 44.
tyranny of, 33.

Charles II., proclamation of, 43.
character of, 49, 51, 77.
religion of, 49, 100–102.
and the Presbyterians, 47, 49, 51, 72.
and the Romanists, 50, 58, 84.
and the Bishops, 52, 54, 58.
and his brother, 100, 101, 103.
and Clarendon, 76, 77.
and Parliament, 91–96.
and Louis XIV., 69, 94, 99.
death of, 102.
Charters, attack on, 98, 126.
Chillingworth, 137.
Christmas Day, 23.
Church of England, strength of the, 108, 118, 120, 136, 140.
Clarendon Code, 66, 70, 98, 136.
Clarendon, Lord, 36, 41, 53, 58, 60, 75–77.
Clifford, Baron, 69.
Clifton, Cuthbert, 17.
Commission, Court of High, 115, 119.
Comprehension Bill, 136, 143.
Compton, Bishop, 70, 113, 118, 119, 149.
Conventicle Act, 66, 88.
Convention Parliament, 42, 132.
Convocation, 59, 70, 137, 146, 149, 163.
Coronation of James II., 103, 112.
Coronation Oath, 112.
Corporation Act, 58, 62, 138.
Cosin, Bishop, 24, 54, 60.
Cowper, William, 2.
Creighton, 149, 150.
Crewe, Bishop, 114, 126.
Croft, Bishop, 87.
Cromwell, Oliver, and the army, 8, 37.
and the Romanists, 16–18.
and toleration, 18–22, 25, 27.
Cromwell, Oliver, and the Jews, 20.
and the Prayer-Book, 28.
and the Press, 31.
and the hypocrites, 33.
death and character of, 35–38.
Cromwell's daughters, 23.
Cromwell, Richard, 37, 41.

Danby, Earl of, 70, 118.
Declaration of Breda, 43, 48, 53, 62.
Declaration of Indulgence, 68, 117, 135.
Declaration of Rights, 133.
Defoe, Daniel, 128, 141, 165.
"Deliquency," 13, 14.
Derby, Earl of, 17.
Dissenters, numbers of, 67, 152.
Dissenters support the *Test Act*, 60.
Dolben, John, 23.
Döllinger, 80.
Downfall of intolerance, 34, 46, 120.
Drelingcourt, 48.
Dryden, 37, 41, 45, 75, 82, 95, 105, 109, 119, 135, 147, 159.
Duppa, Bishop, 24, 52.

Earle, John, 34, 67.
English Church, strength of the, 108, 118, 120, 136, 140.
English Republic, 6.
Essex, Lord, 84.
Evelyn, John, 23, 24, 25, 49, 111, 116, 117, 119, 120, 143.
Exclusion Bill, 83, 91, 92, 94, 114.
Execution of Charles I., 3, 4.
Southworth, 17.
Archbishop Plunket, 83.
Lord Russell, 91.

Fauconberg, Lord, 23.
Fell, John, 23, 94.
Filmer's *Patriarcha*, 96.

Five Mile Act, 66, 68, 88.
Fox, George, 20.
Frampton, Bishop, 144.
Freedom of the Press, 141.
Frewen, Bishop, 52.

Gardiner, S. R., 9, 29.
Garth, Samuel, 157.
Gasquet, F. A., 103.
Gauden, John, 54.
Gaunt, Elizabeth, 105.
George of Denmark, 157.
Goldwin Smith, 46, 161.
Gower, Dr., 145.
Granville, Dean, 65.
Gresset, 55, 157.
Grimstone, Sir Harbottle, 44.
Guizot, 9, 16, 74, 116, 120.
Gunning, Peter, 24, 25, 56.

Habeas Corpus Act, 92.
Hacket, John, 28.
Hales, John, 137.
Halifax, Lord, 117.
Hall, Christopher, 14.
Hallam, 57, 96, 117.
Hammond, Henry, 24, 139.
Harrison, Thomas, 16.
Harvest festivals, 150.
Henriques, 20.
Herbert, Chief Justice, 114.
Hewit, John, 23.
Hickes, George, 44, 144.
" High Church," 150.
Hobbes, 58.
Hobbes' *Leviathan*, 89.
Holles, Denzil, 48.
Huddleston, 101.
Hudibras, Butler's, 26, 36, 41, 63.
Hunt, John, 44.

Indemnity, Act of, 57.
Independents, 14–16, 53, 139.
Inderwick, 104.
Innocent XI., 107, 121.
Irenicum, Stillingfleet's, 84.
Irving, 104, 114.

Jacombe, Thomas, 56.
James, Duke of York, 69, 71, 83, 101.
James II., character of, 103–105, 157.
  and the Roman Church, 105–108.
  and the English Church, 108–113.
  and Dissenters, 116, 117, 135.
  blunders of, 118, 120, 130.
Jeffreys, Judge, 98, 100, 104, 126.
Jesuits, 16–18, 75, 107, 128.
Jews in England, 20.
Johnson, Dr., 54, 157, 164.
Judges, independence of, 134.
Juxon, Bishop, 24, 52, 70.

Ken, Bishop, 75, 101, 102, 143, 144.
Kennet, R., 85.
Kettlewell, 113.
King, Bishop, 52.
Kings, captive, 127.
King's Evil, 94.
Kirke, Colonel, 126.
Knox, 10.

Lake, Bishop, 96, 145.
Lamplugh, Bishop, 118, 149.
Lathbury, 115, 117, 132, 147, 150.
Latitudinarians, 136, 151, 153.
Laud, 13, 14.
Lecky, 34, 35, 38, 99, 109.
Leighton, Archbishop, 147.
Lenthall, 19.
Lessons taught by Cromwell, 9, 35.
Leviathan, Hobbes', 89.
Lingard, 17.
Lisle, Alice, 105.
Lloyd, Bishop, 144.
Locke, 96, 138, 139, 140.
Long Parliament, 11, 22, 57.
Louis XIV., 50, 69, 94, 99, 105, 162.

" Low Church," 150.
Lowell, 36.
Ludlow, 36.
Luttrell, Narcissus, 145.

Macaulay, 5, 32, 58, 63.
Magdalen College, Oxford, 117, 120.
Major-Generals, 8, 31.
" Malignant," meaning of, 13, 14.
Manton, Thomas, 48, 52.
Marvell, Andrew, 88.
Mary and Philip, 15.
Mary II., 134, 155, 156.
Mary of Modena, 68, 119.
Maynard, Sir John, 114.
Micro-cosmographie, 34.
Milton, 30, 31, 87, 141.
Monk, General, 42, 53.
Monmouth, Duke of, 96, 104.
Morley, George, 24, 54, 55, 56.
Morley, John, 3, 22.
Morton, Bishop, 24.

Naked Truth, The, 87.
Naylor, James, 18, 22.
Neal, Daniel, 65.
Newdigate-Newdegate, 74, 91.
Nonjurors, The, 142–146.
Non-religious Englishmen, 29–32.
Norfolk, Duke of, 111.
North, Lord Keeper, 100.

Orme, William, 56.
Osborne, Sir Thomas, 69.
Overall, Bishop, 60.
Overton, 24, 68.
Owen, John, 85.

Parliament, Barebone's, 22.
the Convention, 42, 57.
the Long, 11, 22, 57.
the Pensioners', 57, 91.
the Rump, 17, 42.
at Oxford, 93.
Passive obedience, 96.
Patriarcha, Filmer's, 96.
Patrick, Bishop, 115, 148, 153.
Pepys, 42, 43, 46, 58, 77.
Persecution, political, 67.
religious, 12, 14, 22, 27, 66, 67.
Perth, Lord, 104.
Petre, the Jesuit, 106, 108, 116.
Philip and Mary, 15.
Pierce, Bishop, 52.
Plunket, Archbishop, 83, 84.
Popish Plot, 82, 90.
Portsmouth, Lady, 100, 101.
Prayer-Book, 21, 28, 59, 65, 150.
Presbyterianism, 10, 14, 26, 46, 49, 57, 73, 151.
Press, censorship of, 31, 141.
Prior, Matthew, 156.
Protestant Reconciler, The, 88.
Puritanism, 22, 25, 27, 32, 34, 41, 47.

Quakers, 15, 20, 136.
Queen Anne's Bounty, 148.
Queen Henrietta Maria, 106.
Queen Mary II., 134, 155, 156.

Ranke, 46.
Republic, English, 6.
Reresby, Sir John, 121.
Revolution, evils of, 2, 125.
Revolution of 1688, 126–129.
Reynolds, Edward, 48, 52, 53, 59.
Rich, Richard, 23.
Roberts, Bishop, 52.
Romanists, 16, 21, 68, 75, 85.
Ronquillo, Ambassador, 106.
Rose, Bishop, 152.
Rump Parliament, 17, 42.
Russell, Lord, 83, 90, 91.
Rye House Plot, 90, 98.
Ryswick, Treaty of, 161.

Sacheverell, William, 83.
Sancroft, Archbishop, 71, 100, 117, 143.
Sanderson, Robert, 28, 54.

Savoy Conference, 56, 57, 59.
Schaff, Philip, 11.
Scott, Sir Walter, 95.
Second Stuart Tyranny, 99.
Settlement, Act of, 134, 156.
Seven Bishops, the, 117.
Shaftesbury, 91, 95.
Sharp, Archbishop, 110, 148, 153.
Shaw, 10.
Sheldon, Bishop, 54, 64, 70.
Sherlock, Thomas, 67.
Sidney, Algernon, 91, 98.
Sidney, Henry, 103, 118.
Skeats, H. S., 136.
Solemn League and Covenant, 11, 47, 60, 65.
Southworth, execution of, 17.
Sparrow, Anthony, 56.
Sprat, Bishop, 114, 119, 149.
Spurstowe, William, 48, 52.
Stanhope, James, 139.
Steele, Sir Richard, 141.
Stephen, Sir J., 61.
Stephen, Leslie, 138, 140.
Sterne, Dr., 13.
Sterry, Peter, 36, 37.
Stillingfleet, 24, 84–86, 139, 149, 153.
Storm at Cromwell's death, 35.
Sunderland, Lord, 100, 116.
Swift, 69, 124, 147.

Taunton, E. L., 17.
Taylor, Jeremy, 24, 87, 139.
Tenison, Archbishop, 149, 155.
Tertullian, 121.
Test Act, 68, 92, 100, 113, 138.
Tillotson, Archbishop, 139, 149, 154.
Toleration, 20–22, 26–29, 120, 121.
Toleration Act, 137, 138, 140, 142, 164.
Tomkins, Thomas, 86.
Tonson, Jacob, 159.
Touching for King's Evil, 94.
Toulmin, Joshua, 64.
Trail, H. D., 164.
Trevelyan, 27, 42, 62.
" Triers," boards of, 63.
Turenne, Princess of, 48.
Turner, Francis, 88, 144.
Tyranny, Second Stuart, 99, 125.

Uniformity, Act of, 59, 62.
Ussher, Archbishop, 52, 53.

Villiers, Elizabeth, 155.
Vindictive legislation, 12, 66, 72.

Wagstaffe, Bishop, 144.
Wake, William, 115, 154.
Walker, John, 12.
Walpole, Horace, 37, 151.
Walton, Brian, 54.
Walton, Isaac, 55.
Warburton, Bishop, 64.
Ward, Seth, 88.
Warner, Bishop, 52.
Welwood, James, 45, 48, 49, 82, 96, 107, 111, 121.
Wesley, Samuel, 119.
Whitby, Daniel, 88.
White, Century, 63.
Wilde, George, 23, 25.
William I., 127.
William III., character of, 157–160.
  religion of, 146, 158.
  and France, 131, 160–162.
  and Scotland, 151.
  and the English Church, 146, 148, 163, 164.
  and Dissenters, 121.
Wiseman, Richard, 94.
Wood, Anthony, 43, 46, 93, 94, 104, 113, 117.
Wordsworth, 40.
Worsley, Colonel, 17, 18.
Worsley, Edward, 18.
Wren, Bishop, 52.
Wright, Peter, 16.

York, James, Duke of, 69, 71, 83, 101.

Printed by
MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED
Edinburgh

SOMETHING ENTIRELY NEW. NEVER ATTEMPTED BEFORE.

'A triumphant and unqualified success. Indispensable to ministers and Bible students.'—Dr. W. Robertson Nicoll.

NOW READY. THE FIRST VOLUME OF

A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.

Edited by J. HASTINGS, D.D.

To be completed in Two Volumes. Price per Vol., in cloth binding, 21s. net; in half-morocco, gilt top, 26s. net.

The purpose of this Dictionary is to give an account of everything that relates to Christ—His Person, Life, Work, and Teaching.

It is first of all a preacher's Dictionary. Its authors are scholars as well as preachers.

The articles are all new. Even when their titles are the same as the titles of articles in the 'Dictionary of the Bible,' they are written by new men, and with a new purpose.

The articles are not limited even to the Bible, but gather together whatever touches Christ in all the history and experience of the Church.

It is called a Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, because it includes everything that the Gospels contain, whether directly related to Christ or not. Its range, however, is far greater than that of the Gospels. It seeks to cover all that relates to Christ throughout the Bible and in the life and literature of the world. There are articles on the Patristic estimate of Jesus, the Mediæval estimate, the Reformation and Modern estimates. There are articles on Christ in the Jewish writings and in the Muslim literature. Much attention has been given to modern thought, whether Christian or anti-Christian. Every aspect of modern life, in so far as it touches or is touched by Christ, is described under its proper title.

It will be found that the contents of the Gospels, especially their spiritual contents, have never before been so thoroughly investigated and set forth.

Full Prospectus will be sent post free on application to the Publishers.

Post 8vo, Second Edition, price 4s. 6d. net,

FAITH AND KNOWLEDGE.

SERMONS.

By Rev. W. R. INGE, D.D.

The volume is one which is likely to be especially helpful to preachers, as giving them fresh materials for thought.'—*Guardian.*

Post 8vo, price 4s. 6d. net,

CHRISTUS IN ECCLESIA.

SERMONS.

By Rev. HASTINGS RASHDALL, D.C.L.,
Oxford.

'A book which should prove very useful to the enquiring student.'—*Oxford Review.*

Post 8vo, price 4s. 6d. net,

BREAD AND SALT FROM THE WORD OF GOD.

IN SIXTEEN SERMONS.

By Professor THEODOR ZAHN,
University of Erlangen.

'We fear that Dr. Zahn's reputation as a scholar is not as widespread in England as it should be, although the University of Cambridge has conferred upon him an honorary degree. This is due, no doubt, to our insular backwardness in the acquiring of other languages. . . . The chief reason why we desire to bring the sermons within the reach of English readers, is rather that they may see for themselves how exact and profound learning is compatible with a spirit of childlike reverence and humility, a directness of speech in rebuke of prevalent ungodliness, an ardour of devotion to Christ as the One Master, and to the leading of the Holy Spirit, which are thoroughly in accord with the teaching of the Apostles and of the Primitive Church.'—*From the* TRANSLATOR'S *Preface.*

Crown 8vo, price 4s.,

THE USE OF THE SCRIPTURES IN THEOLOGY.

By Professor W. N. CLARKE, D.D.

The Bible continues to be the unspeakably precious treasure of Christendom, and will retain its place and power as the manual of Christianity and the book of God for men. But its place and power must be preserved through perfectly frank recognition of the facts concerning it, and use of it for exactly what it is. Modern study shows it to be in some important respects a different book from what it has been thought to be, and it is necessary that we learn to use it in a manner that corresponds to its character thus ascertained.

THE LATEST HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

'Of Dr. Lindsay's "History of the Reformation" Dr. DENNEY predicts that it will become a classic on the subject. Few safer predictions have been hazarded.'—*British Weekly.*

In Two Volumes, post 8vo, price **10s. 6d.** each.

A History of the Reformation.

BY

Principal T. M. LINDSAY, D.D., LL.D.

VOL. I.—**THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY, FROM ITS BEGINNING TO THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF AUGSBURG.**

'The best English History of the Reformation in Germany. A decidedly successful book.'—Professor POLLARD, in the *Tribune.*

'There can be no doubt this will be the classical work in English on the Reformation. . . . It is a noble crown of a life's study of the most stupendous spiritual movement since the death of St. Paul. Dr. Lindsay writes with an ease and charm that fascinates the reader and carries him on from page to page until the end, leaving us full of impatience for the second volume.'—*Christian World.*

VOL. II.—**THE REFORMATION IN LANDS BEYOND GERMANY** (Switzerland, France, The Netherlands, Scotland, and England; the Anabaptist and Socinian Movements; The Counter-Reformation).

With MAP of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation (1520–1580).

EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

OUTLINES OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

By W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Lady Margaret Professor, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Second Edition. In post 8vo, price 5s. net.

Although this book is, in the main, a reprint of Dr. Sanday's well-known article, 'Jesus Christ,' in Dr. Hastings' Bible Dictionary, the Author has worked carefully over the material, and has broken up the text into Chapters and Sections. An important new Map of Palestine is added.

CONTENTS :—Chap. I. Introductory.—II. Survey of Conditions.—III. The Early Ministry.—IV. Teaching and Miracles.—V. The Later Ministry.—VI. The Messianic Crisis.—VII. Supplemental Matter: The Nativity and Infancy.—VIII. The Verdict of History.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES.

Introductory and Expository Studies. By the Rev. R. D. SHAW, D.D., Edinburgh. Second Edition. 8vo, price 8s. net.

'Of all the Introductions to St. Paul's Epistles I have read, this is the best.'—*Methodist Times.*

'Ought to prove a very useful guide to the professional student as well as to the inquiring layman. Nothing essential is missed which could aid the student to understand the circumstances which evoked the letters and the aim they sought to achieve.'—*British Weekly.*

THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD

In Christian Truth and Life. By the Rev. J. SCOTT LIDGETT, M.A., Warden of Bermondsey Settlement. 8vo, price 8s. net.

This book is an attempt to establish the Fatherhood of God as the determining fact of Christian life and the determining principle of Christian Theology. Among the subjects dealt with are: The New Testament Doctrine of the Fatherhood of God. Place in New Testament Theology. The Relation of the Old Testament Doctrine to the Fatherhood of God. The Doctrine in Church History. Validity and Content. Manifestation.

'Every reader will own the masterly skill with which Mr. Lidgett handles his subject, the breadth of his reasoning, the wide knowledge which he brings to bear on every page of his work, and the zeal which fuses and transfuses the whole.'—*Methodist Recorder.*

THE ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIAN LIBRARY.

THE ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIAN LIBRARY.

A Collection of all the Works of the Fathers of the Christian Church prior to the Council of Nicæa. Edited by the Rev. Professor ROBERTS, D.D., and Principal JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D., St. Andrews. In Twenty-four handsome 8vo Volumes, Subscription Price £6, 6s. net; or a selection of Four Volumes for £1, 1s. net.

Any Volume may be had separately, price 10s. 6d.

This Series has been received with marked approval by all sections of the Christian Church in this country and in the United States, as supplying what has long been felt to be a want, and also on account of the impartiality, learning, and care with which Editors and Translators have executed a very difficult task.

The following Works are included in the Series:—

Apostolic Fathers, comprising Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians; Polycarp to the Ephesians; Martyrdom of Polycarp; Epistle of Barnabas; Epistles of Ignatius (longer and shorter), and also the Syriac Version; Martyrdom of Ignatius; Epistle to Diognetus; Pastor of Hermas; Papias; Spurious Epistle of Ignatius. One Volume. **Justin Martyr; Athenagoras.** One Volume. **Tatian; Theophilus; The Clementine Recognitions.** One Volume. **Clement of Alexandria,** comprising Exhortation to Heathen; the Instructor; and the Miscellanies. Two Volumes. **Hippolytus,** Volume First; Refutation of all Heresies, and Fragments from his Commentaries. **Irenæus,** Volume First. **Irenæus** (completion) and **Hippolytus** (completion); Fragments of Third Century. One Volume. **Tertullian against Marcion.** One Volume. **Cyprian;** The Epistles and Treatises; **Novatian; Minucius Felix.** Two Volumes. **Origen:** De Principiis; Letters; Treatise against Celsus; and Life of Origen. Two Volumes. **Tertullian:** To the Martyrs; Apology; To the Nations, etc. Three Volumes. **Methodius; Alexander of Lycopolis; Peter of Alexandria Anatolius; Clement on Virginity;** and Fragments. One Volume. **Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations;** comprising all the very curious Apocryphal Writings of the first Three Centuries. One Volume. **Clementine Homilies; Apostolical Constitutions.** One Volume. **Arnobius.** One Volume. **Gregory Thaumaturgus; Dionysius; Archelaus; Syrian Fragments.** One Volume. **Lactantius;** together with the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and Fragments of the Second and Third Centuries. Two Volumes. **Early Liturgies and Remaining Fragments.** One Volume.

N.B.—Additional Volume, containing 'RECENTLY DISCOVERED MSS., 4to (pp. 540), price 12s. 6d. net. (*See next page.*)

ST. AUGUSTINE'S WORKS.

THE WORKS OF AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,

Bishop of Hippo. Edited by MARCUS DODS, D.D. In Fifteen Volumes, demy 8vo, Subscription Price, £3, 19s. net.

Any Volume may be had separately, price 10s. 6d.

The 'City of God.' Two Volumes.
Writings in connection with the Donatist Controversy. One Volume.
The Anti-Pelagian Works. Three Volumes.
Treatises against Faustus the Manichæan. One Volume.
On the Trinity. One Volume.
Commentary on John. Two Vols.
The Harmony of the Evangelists, and the Sermon on the Mount. One Volume.
'Letters.' Two Volumes.
On Christian Doctrine, Enchiridion, on Catechising, and on Faith and the Creed. One Volume.
'Confessions.' With Copious Notes by Rev. J. G. PILKINGTON.

'For the reproduction of the "City of God" in an admirable English garb we are greatly indebted to the well-directed enterprise and energy of Messrs. Clark, and to the accuracy and scholarship of those who have undertaken the laborious task of translation.'—*Christian Observer.*

N.B.—Messrs. CLARK offer a Selection of Four Volumes from 'The Ante-Nicene Library' or 'St. Augustine's Works,' or from both Series, at the Subscription Price of One Guinea net (or a larger number at same proportion).

RECENTLY DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPTS,

and ORIGEN'S COMMENTARIES ON MATTHEW AND JOHN. Being an Additional Volume to 'The Ante-Nicene Christian Library.' Edited by Professor ALLAN MENZIES, D.D., St. Andrews University. Containing: Gospel of Peter (by Professor ARMITAGE ROBINSON)—Diatessaron of Tatian—Apocalypse of Peter—Visio Pauli—Apocalypses of the Virgin and Sedrach—Testament of Abraham—Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena—Narrative of Zosimus—Apology of Aristides—Epistles of Clement (Complete Text)—Origen's Commentaries on Matthew and John, etc. In One Volume, 4to (pp. 540), price 12s. 6d. net.

'It was a happy idea which occurred to the publishers of "The Ante-Nicene Library" to supplement that series with a volume containing translations of the more important discoveries of recent years. A judicious arrangement has been observed in grouping the recovered treasures. . . . It has been compiled with great care, and the Introductions are short and to the point.'—*Record.*

Eras of the Christian Church.

EDITED BY JOHN FULTON, D.D., LL.D.

In Ten Volumes, price 6s. each.

The *Guardian* says: 'These volumes certainly must be said to answer their descriptions admirably. The reader will find in them studies in the history of the Church in a series of short chapters which are always interesting and often very picturesque.'

THE AGE OF HILDEBRAND.

By Professor M. R. VINCENT, D.D.

THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM.

By CLINTON LOCKE, D.D.

THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES.

By JAMES M. LUDLOW, D.D.

THE ECUMENICAL COUNCILS.

By Professor W. P. DU BOSE, D.D.

THE AGE OF THE RENASCENCE.

By HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D., and PAUL VAN DYKE.

THE ANGLICAN REFORMATION.

By Professor W. R. CLARK, LL.D., D.C.L., Trinity College, Toronto. (Editor and Translator of Bishop Hefele's *Councils of the Church.*)

THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

By Professor CHARLES L. WELLS.

THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE.

By LUCIUS WATERMAN, D.D., with Introduction by the Right Rev. H. C. POTTER, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of New York.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

By Professor J. VERNON BARTLET, D.D., Oxford.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

By Professor W. WALKER, Ph.D., D.D., Hartford.

'These "ERAS" are histories that will be enjoyably read and easily remembered. . . . Professor Vincent had a great subject allotted to him, and "The Age of Hildebrand" is an altogether worthy treatment of it. . . . In "The Age of the Crusades" we have the prose version of a story familiar to most of us in the trappings of romance. Dr. Ludlow holds the attention of his readers. . . . "The Great Western Schism" is a bright and popular résumé.'—*Literary World.*

Now Complete, IN FIVE VOLUMES

(Including the ***EXTRA*** Volume, which contains important **Articles** and complete **Indexes**).

'In its five volumes we possess a splendid—nay, an unsurpassed—thesaurus of biblical learning.'—***Record.***

Dictionary of the Bible.

Dealing with

Its Language, Literature, and Contents,

Including the Biblical Theology.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

PUBLISHED PRICE PER VOLUME—

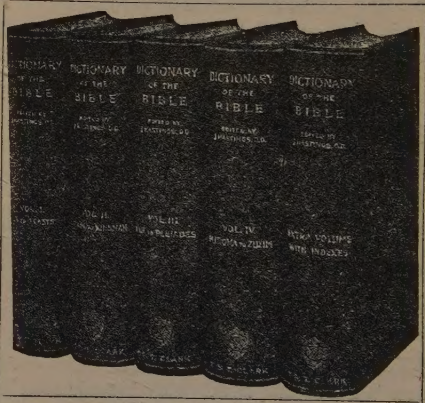
In Cloth, 28s.

In Half-Morocco, 34s.

(Dark Purple—Original Issue.)

Complete **Sets** may also be had in other elegant Half-Morocco Bindings at the Prices detailed opposite.

*** **Those Prices are subject to Discount for Cash.**


DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE
DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE
DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE
DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE
DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

REDUCED FACSIMILE.
Size of Volumes, 11 by 8½ inches;
Total Number of Pages = 4630.

PUBLISHED PRICE PER VOLUME FOR HALF-MOROCCO BINDINGS—

Dark Purple Sprinkled Edges **34s.**

Maroon Levant Marbled Edges **34s.**

Light Brown Marbled Edges **34s.**

Olive-Green Polished Gilt Top . **35s.**

Maroon Polished Gilt Edges **36s.**

*** **The four last-named can only be had in complete Sets. The Extra Volume will, however, be supplied to match Sets of Volumes I. to IV.**

Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D.

With the assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D.

This great work has taken its place, as 'The Times' says, as 'the standard authority for biblical students of the present generation.' In this country and America, in the Colonies, and even among people of other languages and of various creeds, it is in constant and increasing demand.

The **Guardian** says: 'We have no hesitation in recommending Hastings' Dictionary to students of the Bible as the best work of its kind which exists in English.'

*** ***Full Prospectus, with Specimen Pages, free on application.***